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Studies in Classic Maya Iconography

BY

GEORGE KUBLER

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PREFACE

This collection of essays began when William Coe invited me in 1967 to write the report on the art of Tikal. My immediate answer was to offer to give a seminar at Yale leading in that direction, and this is the first result. During 1967-1968 three undergraduates: Frederick Bland, Richard Cantor, and Harold Logan, and four graduate students, Ann Barrett, David Brown, John Clarke and Marimar Benitez joined me in the enterprise, as did also Flora Clancy who came for the pleasure of it and stayed the whole course without credit. The design of our studies could not have been more simple: in the fall term all hands prepared inventories of the iconographic repertory at the principal classic Maya sites, and during the spring we made thematic studies. I am grateful in addition to the members of the Tikal Project who generously provided unpublished study materials, and to Tatiana Proskouriakoff, Floyd Lounsbury, William Coe, Arthur Miller, and Mary Elizabeth Smith for their thoughtful comments. They all expressed support, without fully accepting my positions as incontestable.

George Kubler
New Haven, 24.VI.1968

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Studies in Classic Maya Iconography

for E.B.K.

I PREVIOUS STUDIES

The whole iconographic configuration of classic Maya art has not been systematically discussed since 1913, when H. J. Spinden's *Study of Maya Art* first appeared. This work was reissued in 1957 and nothing superior to it came out in the intervening years, excepting the more restricted *Study of Classic Maya Sculpture* by Tatiana Proskouriakoff in 1950, which was given to stylistic analysis more than to iconography. Thus an early interest in iconographic problems lapsed after 1913, when scholars transferred their interest to calendric matters and problems of textual decipherment, thereby consigning to neglect the rich figural evidence which once seemed important to an earlier generation of men like Teobert Maler and Alfred Maudslay. Spinden's *Study* in 1913 therefore ended a cycle of Maya studies anchored more upon the figural art than upon the glyphs. Since 1913, decipherment, astronomy, correlation, and chronology have been at the center of the attention of most Mayanists. Field archaeologists have concentrated more upon the recovery of pottery, building, and stela sequences than upon the interpretation of the figural evidence itself.

In 1913, Spinden identified three main categories of Maya images: human subjects, animal figures, and a group of subjects having to do with deities. Among human figures Spinden specified men, women, priests and warriors. Among animals he discussed jaguar, bird, snail, turtle, shell, bat, deer, dog, peccary, fish, and reptile. Among deities he described feathered serpent and its reciprocal, the serpent bird; two-headed dragon; long-nosed god (B or K in the Schellhas system); Roman-nosed god (D); maize god (E); goddess (I); nose-cruller heads; sun-god (G); skeletal forms (A); north star (C); a war god (F); and the Chicchan god (H). In addition he discussed at length with many examples two items of paraphernalia or regalia: the ceremonial bar, and the manikin scepter.

Spinden did not distinguish between themes and figural conventions, nor did he separate regalia, animal figures, and deities, preferring to rely on humans, serpents and "other subjects" as his principal iconographic categories. Thus ceremonial bars, manikin scepters, two-headed dragons, serpent-birds, long-nosed gods, and Roman-nosed gods all were treated as religious aspects of serpent figures. Among the human subjects he doubted the presence of historical portraits (p. 23), and he presented the deities according to the system of Paul Schellhas (1904), based upon the codices.

Morley (1946, 222f) noted that "Old Empire representations of few if any of the Maya deities have survived," and (257) that "the Old Empire Maya were not, generally speaking, worshipers of images in a literal sense," observing (208) "probably a simple nature worship" of personifications of natural forces.

Recent studies now suggest that much Maya sculpture pertains to the portraiture or commemoration of historic persons (T. Proskouriakoff, 1960, 1963, 1964; H. Berlin, 1959; D. H. Kelley, 1962b), and that the Schellhas system is relevant only for the Maya codices, which are generally admitted as being of post-classic date and under Mexican influence (G. Zimmerman, 1956). It is therefore urgent now to review the entire classic Maya configuration as one including many historical representations, as well as having many fewer figures of gods than Spinden supposed.

Anders (1963, 257-364) combined ethnographic notices, with representations in the codices and in classic figural art, all arranged alphabetically by "god" name. Only the following deities of the revised Schellhas system have recognizable counterparts in classic sculpture: A (p. 257), G (pp. 293-294), K (pp. 317-318), N (pp. 334-5), X (p. 355). In no case can we be sure that the meaning is the same in both manuscript and monumental versions. Thus A in monumental sculpture is usually only a skull; G is a head on classic censers; K appears at Copan as a head-variant glyph related to long-nosed heads; N appears as the old man wearing a conch on Chamá-style pottery, and X is prefigured by the frog glyphs standing for the 20-day month (*uinal*). Anders gives no classic form for B.

Motifs, themes, and symbols.

According to Erwin Panofsky (1939, 3-5, 14) those visual forms which artists use to describe objects and events, make up a world of natural subject matter, composed of *motifs* which the spectator has learned to recognize as corresponding to everyday experiences. This is the first and most elementary of three hermeneutic levels. In Maya studies, the work of Tatiana Proskouriakoff on classic Maya sculpture is such a history of style addressed only to primary or natural subject matter. Proskouriakoff (1950, iii) states her principal aim as the establishment of "definite and significant style characteristics" in order to discover the pattern of changes among the forms depicted in Classic Maya monumental sculpture. She refrains from commenting on symbolism, and confines her method to the seriation of selected motifs. These are 1) human poses and postures; 2) costume elements such as feathers, headdresses, earplugs and nose beads, collars, necklaces, belts, loincloth aprons, arm and leg ornaments, and sandals; 3) scrolls, regalia, utensils, armor, and weapons; 4) ornamental details. The rough seriation is given by dated inscriptions carved on the monuments, corrected by stylistic appraisals based upon the variations among groups of motifs. For every classic monument, she suggests a stylistic date usually a little later than the epigraphic date, and usually expressed as a date probable within 80 years. Her conclusion proceeds from a history of style based on motifs, to a history of cultural symptoms, as defined by significant changes in the artists' sensibilities, rather than in their choices of subjects.

On a second hermeneutic level, the *theme* is a specific component of conventional subject matter having to do with images, stories, and allegories. This subject matter is the object of an interpretation aided by literary sources wherever possible, and aiming at a history of the types composed by specific themes. Each theme or concept finds expression in specific pictorial representations of objects and events, which are best interpreted with the help of literary sources. Under the worst conditions, as in Classic Maya art, the themes usually have to be read directly without external literary aids.

On a third level, Panofsky speaks of intrinsic meanings, conveyed by cultural *symbols* interpreted by synthetic intuition of the historical situation of the work under study. The first and third levels are less dependent upon literary aids than the second. Proskouriakoff's *Study of Classic Maya Sculpture* (1950) explores *motifs* at the first level, as Spinden's *Study of Maya Art* (1913) sought to establish *symbolic content* on the third level. The present study will seek to establish the main *themes* and types of classic Maya art at the second level, along lines first sketched out by Maler and Maudslay.

A. P. Maudslay (1889-1902, I, 34) was uncertain at Copan whether the stelas were "portraits of chieftains or priests" or "fanciful representations of heroes or deities" but he admitted that the "strong individuality of many of the figures" supported the idea of portraiture. At about the same time Teobert Maler at Piedras Negras (1901-1903, I, 46ff) was inclined to consider some stela figures as gods, and others as warrior chieftains (p. 59). At Yaxchilan (p. 117) he correctly recognized figures of women, lords, priests and gods (p. 176), guided only by differences of context as to their identification. Soon after Mayanists began to look only for calendrical cycles in the corpus of inscriptions, with a fervor which rose to a long peak between Morley's *Inscriptions of Peten* (1937-1938) and Thompson's *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing* (1950).

More recently Proskouriakoff (1960) noted that several "ascension" scenes at Piedras Negras (Figs. 58-60) showing a seated frontal person in a niche or doorway, were each first in a series of stelas, among seven such series which she identified as recording separate reigns. She interpreted the "ascensions" as portraits of rulers and their families. Glyph T 684 ("toothache") was identified as indicating the accession to power of a named lord. T 740 ("upended frog") was interpreted as marking his birth date. His name (e.g. "Bat Jaguar" in glyphs T 756 and T 751 on lintel 3, corresponding to the seated lord) appeared in adjoining appellative glyphs. Miss Proskouriakoff also noted historic content in the inscriptions at El Cayo, Yaxchilan, Bonampak, Kuna, Palenque, Copan, Seibal, Pusilha, Morales, Pestac, Tonina and Tikal.

Proskouriakoff later extended this method (1963, 1964) to the inscriptions of Yaxchilan, identifying many events in the lives and reigns of four rulers at that place. D. H. Kelley (1962b) working on similar principles, identified several rulers at Quirigua and related them to rulers at Copan. Maler and Maudslay had only their direct experience to guide them as iconographers in assessing whether warriors, priests, women or gods were represented. The recent discoveries since 1960 are linked to initial-series chronology and to other textual clues, such as personal names, emblems of places, birth dates, and dates of ascension to power. In brief, the historical interpretation of classic Maya sculpture, as assumed by Maler and Maudslay, has been newly reconfirmed by correlations between fragments of figural content and portions of glyptic texts. The older method of direct contextual study of the pictorial matter has thereby received a new impetus, and it is to be hoped that a configurational survey of the whole inventory of classic Maya art will eventually stimulate further correlations with the glyphs describing these scenes.

Thematic recognition.

Lacking any completely deciphered texts, how can we recognize the themes in classic Maya art? These themes by definition are pictorial equivalents of concepts, stories, and

allegories. If such pictures consist of recognizable motifs that represent objects, events, and expressions, then the grouping and relation of motifs should correspond to the undeciphered literary text adjoining the picture. It is probable, however, that pictorial expression governed the glyptic record, rather than vice versa. Maya glyptic texts are laconic. They rarely reach great length, and their deciphered portions are annalistic, consisting of dates, names and perhaps a few conventional expressions. The informational content of the pictures far exceeds that of the glyphs. The glyphs convey non-pictorial information, and they appear to supplement rather than to paraphrase the content of the pictures.

The most rewarding recent discoveries in the decipherment of Maya writing have been stimulated by observing an iconographical regularity, and then studying the glyptic groups exclusively associated with it, as in the case of the "ascension" stelae (Figs. 58-60) at Piedras Negras (Proskouriakoff, 1960). The success of iconographical methods therefore depends upon the detection of relational and contextual uniformities among the motifs composing the pictorial themes.

II

AN INVENTORY OF MAYA ICONOGRAPHY

The main purpose of this study is to analyze and group a number of commemorative and ritual scenes. The scenes themselves have never before been treated comparatively by a systematic examination of their figural content. Our method of determining figural content is based upon a few principles outlined below, which emerge in each instance from the consideration of complementary pairs of possibilities.

Texts and images.

The relationship between the image and its written explanation has been an unremitting human concern ever since the appearance of writing. Artists have always weighted the icon and its written commentary unequally by changing their relationship until writing sometimes vanished, returning later to dominate the image again. As such, the same problem now reappears in ancient America, especially in classic Maya art, with solutions sliding back and forth between the poles of text and image as in European and Chinese art.

Text and image are complementary when they concern differences of representation in time (text) and in space (image). The word carries the narrative by name, verb, quality, and date, while the image carries the appearance by shape, color, texture and placing. The word and the image usually perform different tasks, and it is useful to know when their functions overlap or interchange in departing from these strict limitations.

Most Maya records divide the work strictly between pictorial evidence and written explanation. Many generations of intense study have been devoted to texts, but the images have still not been described or classed. The texts are today only partly deciphered, and these decipherments are each only partially complete. Kelley (1962a) lists many attempts

having some acceptance among Mayanists. These concern some 250 graphemes, but Thompson's *Catalog* (1962, 5) lists 862. It would be overly optimistic to say that one-third of the content of Maya texts has been one-third deciphered. Yet enough is known about the configuration of the writing to chart its hazy limits. The deciphered stone texts all pertain to annalistic dates, events, persons, and places. Titles, relationships, invocations, ritual acts, and honorific phrases probably make up the still undeciphered remainder.

But the images contain an immeasurably greater range of information than the limited inscriptions can convey. Of course the picture does different work from the text: it states position in space, and the text describes temporal placing. For example, the tablet in the sanctuary of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque (Fig. 26) shows a simple composition of six human figures surrounding a panoply. This cult scene is explained by an enframing commentary of glyphs in eight columns of sixteen rows. Two other blocks totalling 27 glyphs seem to label the two standing officiants. Each glyph block contains a small number of affixes, rarely more than four, so that the total number of "words" cannot exceed five or six hundred. In a mixed phonetic and ideographic system, these few "words" limit the content of the communication to some dates, titles, appellatives, actions, and places. But the mere enumeration of all the meanings suggested by the figural composition would require at least ten times that number of signs, even if we suppose that such qualitative signs really existed in Maya writing, signs to say "shimmering" or "tremendous" or "almost." In other words, nearly the entire burden of historical description, as distinguished from identification, fell upon the figural artist, who was required to qualify, where written language could only name.

The great abundance and the broad powers of the pictorial conventions at the disposal of the Maya artist were far superior to the narrow range and laconic means available to the writer, whose expression probably was limited to annalistic statements about place, person, event, and time. At Bonampak, the rich portrayal of rulership in mural paintings required all the walls of a three-chambered building (Figs. 6-7), but the accompanying glyphs are few, and they are terse in their deciphered portions.

Isolation and clustering.

Some motifs, whether in isolation or in clusters, compose meaningful themes, but not all isolated or clustered motifs are meaningful. Bands or fields of motifs assembled for decoration, as on pottery or textiles, may often be supposed to have no meaning beyond their use as emptied ornament, especially when the suggestions of narrative association are lacking. Such suggestions are given by scenic framing, or by the common engagement of the figures in the same action, or by their rank relative to one another, or by gesture and posture.

An isolated motif, however, may serve either as an empty ornament or as a symbol, depending upon the extended context. If a meander, for example, appears in too great a variety of extended contexts, it is probably an empty ornament; if it appears only in relation to certain narrative forms, as in Mixtec genealogical manuscripts, it may be interpreted as having the meaning of a specific toponym (Caso, 1949), like the black-and-white design for Tilantongo ("black earth") in the *Relación de Teozacualco*. Isolated motifs,

when meaningful, approach the character of names rather than themes. An example is the bat-headed human figure portrayed on late classic cylinder vessels, (R. E. Smith, 1952, fig. 19) and referring perhaps to a time (the month Zotz) or a place (Copan), or a title (Bat-priest).

Some glyphs are like pictures which have been condensed, abbreviated, or compacted, especially in ideographic signs and names of people and places. Conversely, many figural scenes which obey a rule of spatial organization for pictorial purposes, contain passages or motifs composed like glyphs. The ball-court markers at Copan (Fig. 51) illustrate both possibilities, and they also exemplify isolation and clustering. These stone medallions marked the ends and the center of the playing court. Guillemin (1967, 17) claims that they were symbolic of the solstices and the equinox. The lower lobe, like the exergue of a coin or medal in Europe, contains a glyph (T 272: 576, 178) in all three examples. This glyph is the written form of the triadic headdress badge studied in Chapter V. Its composition on these ballcourt markers lacks the plant element (T 122) usually centered in the cluster of crossed bands and shell motif (Fig. 51). The plant actually is on the marker, but it appears in the figural scene above the exergue, and behind the standing player on the left, as part of the pictorial space, and not confined by the rules of glyphic order. Conversely the glyph form T 272, which is the triad cluster as affix, frequently appears as a headdress badge (Fig. 72) or part of a scepter (Figs. 65-68) in stelas and stucco reliefs with figural scenes. Thus any figural scene may contain isolated elements or clusters drawn from writing, just as many glyphs resemble compacted pictures.

Figural allographs.

A clear line divides the whole of classic Maya draftsmanship in two instantly recognizable kinds. The difference is between freehand drawing and an encoded system of graphemic traits. Stated another way, the difference is between the drawing of actually visible forms, and the rendering of ideas or sounds according to fixed conventions. In Maya hands, freehand drawing never completely escapes conventional formulas, nor does an ideographic or phonetic code of signs ever entirely escape the residue of some distant, original copy from nature. But freehand drawing is usually at liberty to depart from convention, and encoded signs must obey fixed graphic rules.

An instructive cluster of examples appears on the tablets of the three temples at Palenque, the Sun, the Cross and the Foliated Cross (Figs. 25-27). On each tablet are two officiants, a tall man wearing a high headdress, and a shorter youth swathed in twisted cloths. These persons are represented almost identically three times each, and their images are lifelike freehand portraits. Under their feet, however, are graphemic figures of which the outlines obey encoded conventions for the depiction of sounds and ideas. The short man at the Foliated Cross (Fig. 27) stands on a corn leaf: its plant arises from a whelk or conch housing a long-nosed graphemic figure, and there are name glyphs on his shell which Kelley reads as a birth sign (1965). The corn leaf could not bear the man's weight, nor would the scale of the manikin in the shell correspond to the visual order of the principal figures, but only to another scale governed by ideographic considerations. The larger figure stands upon another version of the long-nosed head. This one is at much greater

scale, and it combines two profiles of the skeletal long-nosed head into the frontal outline of the same figure. Thus each eye serves both the frontal and one profile view. The skull is cleft and corn leaves pour forth from it. A similar triple-head grapheme in sculpture is Altar W' at Copan (Morley, 1920, fig. 46).

The same tablets display another important aspect of the classic Maya iconographic system in the presence of natural figures wearing graphemic heads and attributes, much like the allegorical figures of European iconography, symbolizing seasons, arts, rivers, virtues and so on, or the heraldic figures supporting coats of arms.

At the Temple of the Sun, (Fig. 26) these "heraldic supporters" beneath the principal figures are nearly life-size. The two officiants, tall and short, are historical portraits. The tall man stands upon the back of a spirit who wears a glyptic long-nosed head and the glyphs of God C (T 1016) on arm, thigh and back. The short man who stands on the arched back of another spirit also wears a glyptic head and shell or eye glyphs (T 24?) on his body. Two much larger figures crouch underneath the ceremonial bar which supports the sun-shield panoply. The left hand one is identical with the "old smoker" portrayed on the east jamb of the sanctuary at the Temple of the Cross. He wears a headdress of leaves and his glyptic face resembles God G in the codices. His companion under the bar has the same solar face, and a long-nosed helmet. All four figures are freehand as to body pose and motions, but glyptic as to identifying traits.

This same combination of freehand drawing and graphemic convention marks the full-figure glyphs (Fig. 50) in the inscriptions. It stresses great differences in meaning between the allegorizing tendency of such personifications, and direct commemorative portraiture. The semantic distance is clearly stated between history and an animistic allegory based on personifications of natural forces.

These examples show how graphemic expression could spill over from the glyptic system into the design of pictorial spaces, with head-variants, full-figure variants and other encoded allographs for meaningful units of glyptic form. In brief, Maya figural art contains large numbers of graphemes, just as Maya writing is everywhere invaded by images. Proskouriakoff (1968, 251) states the possibility that "all normal [glyph] forms could be pictorialized by way of phonetic or ideographic metaphor." Her observation here is extended to pictorial compositions containing allographic images which are equivalent to glyphs. Both commemorative and ritual images thus contain graphemes that have been converted into pictorial forms, usually by the devices of humanization. The graphemic origins of these figures remain clearly evident in the heads, masks and body forms of human impersonators of nature spirits and animal forces. Such impersonators have been called "gods" ever since Schellhas (1904) studied their occurrences in manuscripts. But until their meaning is more surely known, a term like "figural allograph" will avoid premature decisions about religious significance.

Age and change.

It is the repeated and common experience of iconographers to find that within long cultural durations, early and late versions of the same theme are distinctly marked. For example, the stance of the ruler figures in pre-classic and early classic Maya sculpture is a

profile stance (Fig. 57), unlike the more imposing frontal stance of the classic Maya ruler-figures (Figs. 82-83) for six centuries thereafter (cf. Proskouriakoff, 1950, figs. 7-8). This apprehension, of earlier and later forms of the same theme, suggests that those symbols which are intrinsic to each cultural tradition become clearer, more distinct, and more immediate in successive stages when themes are revised and motifs replaced. For convenience let us say that symbols change less than themes, and themes change less than motifs. But when cultural symbols change, the culture has changed. Motifs may persist with changes of meaning; themes persist with changes of form; but cultural symbols carry the aspirations of whole civilizations.

The essay of T. S. Barthel on stela 31 at Tikal (1963) respects the principle of pictorial primacy ("Ausgangspunkt bildet die ikonographische Analyse der figürlichen Darstellungen"), but because he believed with Eduard Seler that ancient Mesoamerican symbols persisted unchanged as to form or meaning throughout time and space, he concluded with unproven claims about a Xipe Totec representation and glyphs for gold on the face of stela 31 (Fig. 71).

The case of the Maya ruler's stance is revealing: when Mexican ways became the post-classic order of life, together with idols and sacrifices, the early-classic profile stance of great personages returned to favor, and the frontal stance became recessive.

In the pages on the burner theme, an analogous development is apparent (Chapter V). The early examples of the triad sign are glyph-like clusters of three forms piled as a headdress upon a long-nosed mask (Fig. 53). After 9.9.0.0.0 another type appears. The same three forms become parts of a shellwork diadem serving as a helmet without the mask (Fig. 85). The newer form allows the wearer to garnish his head with other badges and signs, and this style persists in the post-classic manuscript pictures (Figs. 98-99). By the same token, it seems advisable with any form studied through long durations, to look for early and late forms, which may have become differentiated by new arrangements more than by new motifs.

Invariance and disjunction.

Frequent repetitions of the same theme over long durations within classic Maya history probably signify that a fixed meaning is the purpose of the arrangement. But if different symbolic systems are present, many such continuities become unlikely, as when the animistic religious worship of the classic era was paralleled and in part replaced in post-classic time by the gods and rituals of mainland Mexican peoples.

Panofsky studied this phenomenon as "disjunction" (1960) in the European arts of the later middle ages, when classical content appeared only in medieval forms, and classical forms survived only with Christian meanings. Similar examples of disjunction between classic and post-classic form and meaning can be supposed in highland Mexico (Kubler 1968). Such disjunctions make it improbable that Aztec texts can be used to explain classic Maya continuities of form or meaning. Continuity of form, or of meaning, cannot be assumed to prevail without disjunction where durations on the order of a thousand years or longer are involved. Thus it is misleading to suppose uncritically that classic Maya sculpture and post-classic Maya manuscripts belong to the same cultural duration.

They belong to different religious frames of reference, and the formal continuities between them cannot be assumed to imply continuity of meaning without further proofs.

Commemorations and rituals.

It is now necessary to suggest a way of considering the totality of classic Maya iconography, by outlining the whole inventory of its imagery, as in a road-map designed to set forth the entire system. For our purposes here, this "total" repertory was assembled by making inventories of all available figural images at each large site. Such a repertory emerged as consisting mainly of pictorial scenes, both commemorative and ritual. The commemorations presumably record unique historical persons and events, while the rituals record those recurrent celebrations which characterize the cult practices of institutional religion. Historical records pertain to unique persons and events; ritual records aim to preserve by strict repetition an unchanging identity among religious beliefs.

These two kinds of imagery should not be regarded as being mutually exclusive. On the contrary, every commemoration is a form of ritual, and many rituals embody historical matter. The commemoration, however, is about persons and events, and a ritual concerns devotions and supernaturals.

Most commemorative Maya images appear in monumental sculpture and in mural painting. Such images are less common in painted pottery. Ritual images, on the other hand, are most common on pottery. In Maya monumental art, ritual images are usually only accessories in the representation of historical persons and events. The literary genre corresponding to commemorative art would be annalistic history-writing. The literary forms corresponding to Maya painting or drawing on pottery and bone would be mythology, folktale narrative, and liturgical texts. The three surviving Maya manuscripts of post-classic date, all contain liturgical matter, as well as mythological, astrological, and astronomical information but no historical matter. No manuscripts of classic date are known.

The following listings of images are surely incomplete and they overlap, but they were chosen and phrased broadly enough to accommodate many kinds of imaginable yet still undiscovered thematic material.

A. Commemorative images of dynastic ceremonies concerning historical persons:

- Presentations of the infant heir (Figs. 6a, 38)
- Ascension of the ruler (Fig. 60)
- The ruler under supernatural protection (Figs. 70, 71)
- The conqueror glorified (with captives) Fig. 85.
- Audiences with the ruler (Fig. 89)
- Courtly councils (Fig. 88)
- Offering of regalia (Fig. 37)
- The ruler as priest (Fig. 43)
- Penance of ruling persons (Fig. 3)
- Robing scenes (Fig. 6b)
- Battles (Fig. 7a)
- Ball-games (Figs. 51, 87)
- Funeral rites (Figs. 23, 39)

B. Ritual images concerning supernaturals and mythical beings:

- Glyphic heads (Fig. 35)
- Impersonators of spirits and periods (Fig. 50)
- Animal figures (Fig. 46)
- Humanized plants (Fig. 40)
- Regencies over activities (Figs. 52b, 91)
- Mythical narratives (Fig. 48)
- Acts of worship (Fig. 43)

This inventory will be treated somewhat arbitrarily in the following pages, by site in the case of the commemorative images, and by topic in the case of the ritual images. The reason for this treatment by site is that our knowledge of historical persons is restricted to a few sites where the inscriptions and the scenes have already been analyzed and interpreted by others. Their work allows an examination of the coherence of the program at each site. With ritual images the topics are fewer, on nearly unmapped terrain. There the main demonstration will be an essay on the triadic sign. This theme has the merit of binding commemorative and ritual images because the triadic sign appears with significant frequency in both kinds of imagery.

III

DYNASTIC CEREMONIES

The whole cluster of commemorative themes is suggested by recent historical discoveries (Proskouriakoff, 1960, 1963, 1964; Kelley, 1962b). They tie together a wide spectrum of courtly representations and scenes in a manner allowing us to recognize an underlying consistency among local variations on the same theme, as for instance, with "ascension" or inaugural ceremonies for new rulers (Fig. 60). The clearest procedure will be to connect these studies, which are mainly epigraphic, with the iconographic types which are the subject of this paper.

To date only five extended local dynastic sequences have been identified, by correlating dated series of sculptures with glyphic phrases in their inscriptions. These are Piedras Negras (9.8.15.0.0—9.18.5.0.0); Bonampak (9.9.0.0.0—9.19.0.0.0); Yaxchilan (9.12.0.0.0—10.0.10.0.0); Naranjo (9.12.15.13.7—early cycle 10); Quirigua (9.15.6.14.6—9.19.0.0.0). Similar dynastic sequences will surely be established in time for other sites, but at present, the published sequences are those with which we can best begin to correlate iconography.

Varying from site to site according to local traditions, these rituals of commemoration all occupy a common envelope in classic Maya art as historical records. They are primarily pictorial, with brief written commentaries. The inscriptions contain annalistic information, and the images convey in great detail the glorification of an elite ruling class connected

from site to site by marriage ties and by military alliances, such as those among Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, and Bonampak, or between Copan and Quirigua.

Common to many classic sites is the habit of gradually commissioning commemorative assemblages of monumental sculpture and painting which mark the principal events of each reign. These commemorations are highly selective. Inaugurations of rulers, glorifications of conquerors, courtly audiences, throne scenes, presentations of infants, offering of regalia, robing scenes, priestly rituals, and burial rites are the accepted repertory in a codified system of aristocratic values. High rank is clearly marked by rich costume; nudity marks nonentity; ritual functions are designated by regalia in costume and instruments; economic life is described as ritual activity; mythology and poetry appear in allegorical compositions. The general meaning of the dynastic cycle is clearly apparent, but its detailed interpretation is still only beginning.

The glyphic evidence deciphered by Proskouriakoff (1960, 1963, 1964) suggests to her that Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan were closely linked by dynastic ties at 9.16.1.0.0 (lintel 30), when the Bird-Jaguar ruler was inaugurated at Yaxchilan, just at the time of an irregularity in dynastic succession at Piedras Negras. There the council portrayed on lintel 3 was concerned with a lord of Yaxchilan, whose name-glyphs appear in inscriptions at both places.

Piedras Negras.

The commemorative assemblages of sculpture support this evidence of political connections. At Piedras Negras, the record of each reign usually opens with a seated portrait of the ruler in an elevated niche (Figs. 58-60). Proskouriakoff has called this the "ascension." Various attendants witness the inauguration beneath a "cosmic frame" composed of sky-signs and terminating as a ceremonial bar does in allegorical heads. In each series, the monuments are normally aligned together, with their terminal dates recording consecutive 5-year periods (*hotuns*). The later events in a reign are stereotyped: the ruler is shown as warrior, accompanied by cowering or abject or roped figures whose meaning is still unresolved (captives? victims of alien oppression? peasant clients? allegorical figures of subject cities?). Sometimes the ruler appears with his captains; he is shown in council and enthroned; priests, women, and corn-sowers are portrayed. No actual battles are described at Piedras Negras.

Yaxchilan.

Without being monuments of accession to power, several possible ascension-scene variants occur at Yaxchilan on stelas 1, 4, 6, and 10. Neither the birthdate nor the inauguration glyph appears in these inscriptions, but the ascension theme is suggested by the familiar double-headed sky-band which spans the upper zone immediately above the ruler figures (Fig. 1). On stelas 1, 4, and 6 the standing rulers perform a gesture of sowing from their open hands over a low altar. It is like a little seat or throne made of wooden slats or layered bolts of cloth. Morley (1938, II, 57) calls it an altar and describes the hand object as a maniple. Proskouriakoff calls the gesture on stela 1 "hand scattering grain" (1964, 199). The hand gesture of the ruler resembles that of the ruler scattering grain on stela 40 at

Piedras Negras (Fig. 43), but falling from the hand is an element like the corn-scepters (Figs. 66-69) at Palenque (TC) and Seibal (stela 10). A similar banded altar form is the pedestal for elaborate corn scrolls on stela 32 at Naranjo (Fig. 8) in the eastern Peten; this too may refer to the ascension theme as suggested by Proskouriakoff (1960, 466).

At Yaxchilan the dynastic assemblage includes many more kinds of scenes than at Piedras Negras. Battle scenes are common and there is no regular sequence of 5-year intervals in the terminal dates. If the stones of Piedras Negras "record current events," those of Yaxchilan "illustrate history" in Proskouriakoff's words (1963, 153).

Many scenes portray the capture of prisoners in battle. Scenes of sacrificial self-mutilation appear (Fig. 3). A woman bearing a bundle is interpreted by Proskouriakoff (1964, 189) as being given in marriage with a property settlement (Fig. 2). A ruler holding the manikin scepter (Fig. 71) or standard, or a bird-cross scepter (Fig. 70), or a torch staff, confronts another person, who may hold the same instrument. A serpent rite is shown with a human head emerging from the jaws of an erect serpent (Fig. 4). The wielder of a knife faces a woman holding a jaguar head or helmet (Fig. 5). Figures of both sexes appear seated with the ceremonial bar across their bodies (cf. Coe and Benson, 1966, 30, connecting lintel 1 from Kuna-Lacanha, now at Dumbarton Oaks). A standing male figure is confronted by a kneeling woman.

Thus the whole thematic configuration seen at Piedras Negras reappears with diminished frequencies at Yaxchilan, where the sculptors, however, added many more themes. The familiar "ascension" theme is probably present in a special variant, like the ruler as warrior, accompanied by prisoners and officers. The ruler enthroned is also represented, as are priests, women, and the corn-sower figure. New are the battle scenes, self-mortifications, women bearing bundles, serpent rites, and jaguar decapitation.

Bonampak.

The pictorialism characterizing the Usumacinta sites is best preserved and most richly documented at Bonampak in the Rio Lacanha Valley. This river flows southeast and parallel to the Usumacinta as one of its upper tributaries. Bonampak lies about 30 airline kilometers southeast of Yaxchilan, and about 55 from Piedras Negras. These distances are reflected in the surviving figural work. The murals display a courtly art more like that of Piedras Negras, but the battle scenes and painful mutilations are reminiscent of Yaxchilan. A similar division appears in the monumental sculpture. Stelas 2 and 3 recall Piedras Negras in the graceful elongation of the profile figures, but the compositional arrangements evoke Yaxchilan, as in the two women flanking the ruler figure of stela 2, or the crouching corner figure on stela 3. Sculptured stone 1 shows a ruler enthroned. Both he and his audience are executed in intaglio relief.

Although these works relate mainly to Piedras Negras tradition, the remaining sculpture at Bonampak reflects Yaxchilan in composition, expression and iconographic type. Three lintels on structure 1 show warriors and captives in battle. Stela 1 is like stela 10 at Yaxchilan, and the mask in its basal zone resembles that of stela 4 there. In general, the resemblances to Yaxchilan are stronger and more numerous than those with Piedras Negras.

The influence of Piedras was dominant earlier at Bonampak than that of Yaxchilan, which grew strongest only after 9.17.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff in Ruppert, Thompson and Proskouriakoff, 1955, 45-46).

The painted walls of structure 1 at Bonampak offer a narrative sequence of classic Maya dynastic ceremonies. The entrance walls portray the earlier events in each room and the rear walls display the later ones. The main event of room 1 (Fig. 6a) is the presentation of an infant to the members of a council of state in the presence of the ruling family and the court. The robing of three important persons by many servants occupies the entrance wall (Fig. 6b), prior to their appearance as principals lower down on the rear wall, in a procession with musicians, animal impersonators, and an entourage of couriers. The procession probably celebrates the presentation of the infant.

Room 2, the central room, portrays a battle on three walls (Fig. 7a), for which the reason is displayed on the entrance wall, where the ruler and his captains hear the complaints of mutilated and unbound commoners. Thompson viewed the battle as ending in the taking of prisoners (Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955, 51-52). The interpretation put forth here claims that the mutilated commoners are the cause of the battle and that retribution rather than a slaving raid, or justice rather than aggression, were the aims of the war.

Room 3 begins at the entrance wall with standing and seated people in conversation. On one end wall, the ruler's family is enthroned. Some adults perform penance by drawing blood from their tongues. Facing them on the other end wall is a litter carried by many bearers and containing an important person in jaguar-skins. The entire celebration of sacrifice, jaguar-clad figure, dancers and spirit impersonators (Fig. 7b) recalls the funeral ceremonies recently analyzed by R. E. W. Adams (MS 1968) on a late classic vase from Altar de Sacrificios (Fig. 23), and it also evokes the funeral symbolism of the dancers on altars O and P, as well as stelas A and C at Quirigua (Figs. 21-22). If it is a funeral the rear wall, which is painted with dancers, musicians and entertainers who completely surround the room on the lower register (Fig. 7b), represents the final act of the great ceremonies and battles with which the reign opened and won glory.

In effect, the murals of Bonampak are like a narrative expansion of the principal themes of classic Maya dynastic iconography. The presentation of the infant (Fig. 6a) in the manner of the Palenque reliefs (Fig. 38) may be a variant of the theme of inauguration which was first identified by Proskouriakoff in the "ascension" scenes of Piedras Negras. A glorification of the conqueror is represented in room 2, where his justice to the oppressed may be the theme, together with the battle waged to punish the iniquitous. A courtly audience is in progress in connection with the presentation of the infant. Regalia are brought forth in the robing scene for the procession to celebrate the presentation. A major ritual, perhaps of spirit impersonation, is under way in the litter scene of room 3. The ornate headdresses probably correspond to ritual functions, and the elaboration of costume clearly corresponds to rank. The costumed dancers and entertainers in room 3 may represent re-enactments of myths and commemorations of great events under allegorical guises during one of the funeral convocations of rank and lineage assembled at the death of a ruler (Adams MS 1968a).

Naranjo.

Proskouriakoff (1960, 464-66) also established at least two reign-like series at Naranjo in the western Peten, spanning about 120 years to 9.19.0.0.0. Stela 22 probably is an ascension-scene variant, showing a figure seated in cross-legged fashion upon a cushion and carrying a ceremonial bar in his arms. Below the cushion are scrolls depicting the long-nosed head, and a nude supplicant. An initial or birthdate marker (upended frog glyph) in the inscription records 9.12.15.13.7.

Another possible ascension scene in an undetermined series is stela 32 (Fig. 8), carved about 10.2.0.0.0 ± 2, but recording an event possibly about 9.19.10.0.0. An altar of nine tiered stages ending in crested birds' heads, supports a tangle of corn-leaf scrolls which may have surrounded a seated ruler figure, all of whose lineaments have scaled away or been smashed.

Many stelas at Naranjo portray women of high rank. Their relationship to the men is still unclear. One lady bears a dish (stela 24) loaded with glyptic forms, and she stands upon the back of a crouching nude captive. On stela 3, the lady stands upon a long-nosed head in a base panel, and she holds a feathered whisk. On stela 11 (Fig. 9) the lady again is poised over a nude prisoner's back, and here she carries a shield and a staff, appearing in the guise of a conqueror, wearing a necklace of alligator teeth, like those of the ruler on stela 12 at Piedras Negras.

Another recognizable motif at Naranjo in the cycle of dynastic ceremonies occurs on stela 19. It shows a man observing the tongue-laceration being performed by a woman. Both figures are standing, and the penance resembles that of lintels 17 and 24 at Yaxchilan (Fig. 3), although the quality of the sculpture is far below that of Yaxchilan, being in a ruder incision. Finally stela 9 has an upper register depicting an enthroned figure who faces a seated visitor in the customary courtly audience format. Thus the repertory at Naranjo displays less variety and greater traditionalism in the frequent use of the classic frontal stance of Peten style having feet turned out from the heels. The suggestion of connections with Yaxchilan is striking in stelas 32 and 19. The registered composition of stela 9 may point to northern influences, of which Oxkintok sculpture is an example (Proskouriakoff, 1950, 151).

Quirigua.

Although the southeastern Maya region was dominated by Copan politically, as Kelley has shown (1962b), great differences distinguish the art of Quirigua from that of the Honduran site. The stone of Copan is trachyte, but Quirigua sculpture is of sandstone. Proskouriakoff noted major differences between the sculptural traditions of the two sites. Copan sculptors used three-dimensional figures built with diagonally-placed masses, while at Quirigua the carving "curves around the sides of the stela, which remains block-like in form" (1950, 131). The manikin scepter is absent from the stelas of Copan, but it appears at least eight times in the hands of the ruler portraits of Quirigua. Both the birthdate and the inaugural glyphs are known at Copan: stelas 3, 9; altars Y, F' have T 740 or upended frog glyphs. Altars T and V, as well as structure 22 have T 684 or toothache glyphs, listed by Proskouriakoff (1960, 468).

For Quirigua, Kelley (1962b) has proposed a dynastic hypothesis founded solely upon epigraphic evidence. His main interest was in deciphering names in the Maya script, and he claimed that of five rulers at Quirigua, the founder of the dynasty was related to a ruler of Copan, and that one or two later rulers at Copan and Quirigua shared the same names and titles, their family name being *caan* (sky, T 561). Thus he assumed that Proskouriakoff's hypothesis of the historical nature of the monuments was correct. On the basis of his own identification of the rulers' family name glyphs, he offered a reconstruction of the dynastic history of Quirigua as follows. About 9.15.6.14.6 a ruler from Copan was imposed at the small settlement of Quirigua, followed by four others in a dynasty enduring about 75 years, when most of the monumental sculpture was erected to commemorate their deeds.

On the assumption that classic Maya monumental sculpture contains historical portraiture, let us test Kelley's dynastic hypothesis for Quirigua. The *gesta* of ruler I were commemorated, according to Kelley, on the following monuments, which should show portrait identities.

Stela S (IS 9.15.15.0.0) erected when ruler I was aged about 22, shows a frontal warrior pose, but the surfaces are eroded beyond recognition if a portrait was present. Stela H (IS 9.16.0.0.0), five years later, is in far better condition (Fig. 10). The face, though much eroded, led Proskouriakoff (1950, 131) to comment on the "grotesque effect" of the "shape of the face, with low and protruding cheeks." On stela J (Fig. 11), ruler I was approaching 32 (IS 9.16.5.0.0). The facial type is moon-like, recalling the bloated aspect of stela H, carrying a similar bar immediately under the chin, and standing upon a pedestal likewise carved with a mask of skeletal aspect. Stela F commemorates the lustrum or *hotun* ending at 9.16.10.0.0 and its two faces clearly represent the same person, who wears a beard beneath parted lips (Fig. 12). The front (south) figure carries a ceremonial bar, and the north figure has a manikin scepter in his right hand. Although the north face has flaked away, a portrait identity between the two representations is evident. This identity suggests the round-faced structure of stelas J and H. The subject of the presumed portraits on stela F would now be about 37 years old. The great height of the prism (nearly 10 m.) places the face three times higher than the spectator, and the sculptor may accordingly have introduced some optical corrections such as widening the lower jaw and lengthening the head as a whole, in order to preserve its round-headed portrait identity when viewed from below.

Stela D, dedicated five years later (9.16.15.0.0) is about 6 meters high and its subject, portrayed again on front and back (Fig. 13), surely represents the same bearded person as stela F. The south face has flaked away above the lips, but the smoothly rounded contours of the whole head still betray the same subject as before, whose face is in a recessed plane at twice the spectator's height.

Stela E (Fig. 14) marks the next *hotun* ending (9.17.0.0.0), and it is the tallest monolith (10.66 m.) in Maya country. The two portraits, north and south, are again bearded, and they are in good enough condition to allow the portrait identity to appear clearly, although the south face has a missing nose. The eye profiles are those of the earlier portraits, like the bow-shaped upper lip and the wide lower jaw. The effect of op-

tical correction for viewing from below appears clearly in Maudslay's photograph (1889-1902, II, pl. 27) of the south face.

Stelas A and C (Fig. 15) both mark the same 5-year period ending at 9.17.5.0.0, and they differ from the preceding double portrait commemorations, in having only one portrait each. Ruler I, whom they both portray, was now 52 years old or thereabouts, and the portraits both occupy the south faces. On the north faces are low relief figures resembling priests rather than rulers. Both portrait faces are in good condition; both are bearded; and both give the effect of having been executed according to a fixed convention established for portraying this individual.

Zoömorph B (9.17.10.0.0) is a colossal frog-like boulder (Fig. 16) carved with the mouth at the south end, enframing the head and shoulders of a personage much like the earlier portraits of ruler I, discussed above, whose actual age now would have been about 57. The mouth and nose are much damaged, but the wide lower jaw is intact, like the oval face, in which slightly concave cheek planes may be the biological indications of middle age.

Zoömorph G (9.17.15.0.0) is badly eroded, but the north side human between its feline jaws with his sunken cheeks, and a heavy-lipped mouth set in a fleshy lower jaw (Fig. 17), looks like a new personage. Kelley (1962, 328) supposes that a death is recorded on the stone. If so the bearded head at the south end of the stone may represent ruler I and the north end may portray his successor or co-regent. Zoömorph O (9.18.0.0.0) bears a damaged head on its north face and a skeletal head on the south end.

Kelley supposes that ruler I died soon after his 62nd year being replaced by a regent of a different family before 9.18.5.0.0, when zoömorph P commemorates ruler II, or III, who was then perhaps only six years old. The cross-legged figure seated within paired alligator jaws is beardless, with upward slanting eyes, a pointed chin, and a small, full-lipped mouth (Fig. 18).

The ascension to power of ruler IV (Fig. 19) is commemorated in a niche-scene of Piedras Negras type on stela I (9.18.10.0.0). Beneath a cosmic frame of planet signs, the ruler sits cross-legged on the back of the stela. The front is a full length male figure. Both heads suggest young boys. The short limbs and plump face of the standing figure are distinctly juvenile, while the head of the niched figure is spherical enough to be infantile.

Stela K (9.18.15.0.0) shows figures of two different ages carved on its east and west faces (Fig. 20). The nose and mouth of the western figure are damaged, but the protruding lips and sunken cheeks are those of an older person than that represented by the eastern figure, whose mouth turns down at the corners, and whose facial planes are less mature and more childish than those of the western one. Kelley supposed that after the long reign of ruler I, several descendants in rapid succession assumed power after 9.18.0.0.0. (Zoömorph O) His argument arises from glyph study rather than from iconography. Here the iconographic evidence again presents no major obstacle to the dynastic theory.

The practice of portraiture at Quirigua may be said to follow two main objectives in the discrimination of differences among individuals. As to age, the sculptor distinguished rounder juvenile head and body forms (stelas H, J, I, K east) from mature elongated

gation and articulation (stelas F, D, E). He also distinguished the compact, shortened facial length, sunken cheeks, and widened lower jaw of upper age. As to physical type, he recorded differences of mouth formation and eye-angle, as well as the proportioning of features relative to the whole face. Thus he was able to characterize both individual traits as well as several age groups, in a system of types allowing him, as it were, to carve biographical developments in addition to distinct physiognomies. His resources for indicating expressive attitudes and emotional states were more schematic, and they were probably channeled into the representation of symbolic figures having allegorical meaning, like skeletal forms, sun-faces, or long-nosed heads, each with its own expressional character. The two traditions appear in eight heads commemorating 9.19.0.0.0 over doorways in structure 1. Four are portraits of different people, and four others are schematic representations of fixed types of supernaturals (Morley, 1935, fig. 35; 1937-38, V, pl. 188).

The configuration of dynastic ceremonies at Quirigua closely resembles that of other major classic sites, all while differing from them in variant ways of stating the same themes. For instance, the dancing figures on the backs of stelas A and C, as well as the dancers on altars O and P (Figs. 21-22), may relate to the funeral rites celebrated in the reign of ruler I as figured on stelas A and C, and to the actual funerals of rulers II and III in the case of altars O and P.

Stelas A and C refer to the same five-year period, and they portray the same ruler (Fig. 15). The obverse of A records a deity impersonator wearing jaguar paws, claws and the jaguar god head with its floral ornament (Fig. 21). The dancer on stela C wears crossed bands in his mouth, on pectoral, at wrists, on apron and on anklets, like the stucco figures in the tomb chamber (Fig. 41) underneath the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque. Such crossed bands also adorn the dancer on stela A, but they are less prominent. Both A and C figures have filleted "cruller"-shape eye surrounds. The scenes may record the participation of ruler I or his impersonator in an important funeral away from home.

The dancers on altars O and P (Fig. 22) are more centrifugally active. Both wear masks and carry heads in their hands. The dancer on altar O performs a leap with toes pointed down and head looking to the rear, upon a ground pattern formed by serpent coils, in front of a T-shaped block of glyphs within which another T-block is fitted. The composition of altar P is more audacious. The dancer's left foot thrusts down into a V-shaped cleft within the T-block of glyphs, which here resembles not only the *ik* sign of Maya writing, but also the ground plan of a temple building. Thompson (1960, 72) associates this *ik* day sign with germination, life, god B, wind, and the number 3. Within the T-shape of altar P are signs resembling the RE glyph of Teotihuacan iconography (H. v. Winning, 1961). Enveloping the dancer and projecting from his mouth are filaments and scrolls distantly resembling those of classic Veracruz sculpture (Proskouriakoff, 1950, 145).

The zoömorphs can all be regarded (with the exception of B, which has only one head) as variants on the theme of the beast with heads at both ends (Spinden, 1913, 177). An oblong block from structure 11 (Fig. 65) at Copan (9.17.10.0.0?), probably antedates the series at Quirigua (G, 9.17.15.0.0; O, 9.18.0.0.0; P, 9.18.5.0.0) and its forms are more easily intelligible than those of the later boulder reliefs. The left head at Copan is an alligator head. Its jaws resemble those which enframe the young seated figure on zoömorph P (Fig. 18) at Quirigua. At Copan the open jaws enframe a young human profile

face. The eyes of the alligator, like those of zoömorph B (Fig. 16) are inscribed with crossed bands. At Copan the ventral surface and the undersides of the limbs are carved with transverse scales of a reptilian nature which reappear on zoömorphs B and O at Quirigua as well as on altar N. Zoömorph G (Fig. 17) represents a crouching jaguar whose jaws enclose a human. The rear head resembles the portraits of ruler I. Thus one composite animal body becomes the setting for the display of ruler portraits, by converting the idea of the ceremonial bar to a colossal zoömorphic scale, and enriching its traditional serpent character with other themes such as jaguar.

Zoömorph P carries these thematic complications even farther. The north face is framed by alligator jaws (Fig. 18), of which repeating portions reappear along the lower east and west flanks of the boulder. On the south face a grotesque mask, enframed in a rectangular panel of glyph blocks, resembles the heads of the dancers on altars O and P (Fig. 22). Its upper jaw includes jaguar-teeth and serpent fangs, and the lower jaw is a conventional shell of the type often associated with fire and with the triadic sign. In the ear-lobes hang ornaments of bone. The associations are with dryness, fire, bones and death, contrasting with the watery symbolism of the north face. The top of the boulder bears another mask of the long-nosed variety, carved with rain signs (*day Cauac*) on forehead, eyeballs, cheeks and nostrils, as if to represent a watery sky arching over opposing aspects of the north and south faces. These aspects suggest fertility and aridity, or organic and inorganic contrasts. At Quirigua the north and south faces also parallel the emblems terminating the sky bands at Palenque and Piedras Negras (Figs. 58-62), where the crocodile head and the long-nosed head crowned by the triadic sign of shell, leaf and crossed bands, offer the same contrast of fire and growth symbols. Zoömorph P combines ascension, sky, growth and fire symbols in one network of signs at colossal scale, as an immense emblem of rulership in a cosmic setting. The earlier zoömorphs have intricate scrolls, probably symbolic of clouds. The designer of P turned the scrolls into a sky-mask, like the painted tripartite sky masks in the vault peak at Bonampak (Fig. 95).

Palenque.

The ceremonials of rulership at Palenque were similar to those at other sites all while using very different forms for their expression. For example, only one stone stela is known, and stucco relief was the dominant technique. But the narrative formulas of Piedras Negras are lacking, and the aggressive expressions of Yaxchilan are absent. Instead, Palenque sculptors preferred to represent courtly rituals and themes in low relief carving with graceful body poses and aristocratic gestures. The fundamental ceremonies are the same as at other sites. The inscriptions and the figural sculpture both record dynastic reigns. The ritual of ascension recorded at Piedras Negras may have been based upon ceremonials invented at Palenque, where the ascension-theme variants are slightly earlier than at the river-site.

Gods or men?

Before discussing these, however, we must examine the claims of Berlin and Kelley that the principal inscriptions at Palenque commemorate the births of gods rather than

the reigns of men. Berlin (1963) first noted a glyph cluster centering upon three forms labeled G I, G II, G III, which he inclined to interpret as god-names because of their content and frequency at the Temple of the Foliated Cross, in the Palace, and at the Temple of Inscriptions (Fig. 24a). Kelley (1965) went much farther by identifying the three temples surrounding a common court (Fig. 29) as dedicated to gods bearing Mexican calendar names. Guillemin (1967, 15) has stressed at the Acropolis of Tikal precisely the same relationships—dominant north temple, major east temple, and minor west temple—for the recurrent grouping which corresponds to the cosmographic idea that the north is the region of death requiring the greatest bulwark of faith; that the east, where the sun rises, requires next largest devotions to raise the sun; that the west, where the sun effortlessly goes down, is the least demanding direction, unless it is the south. Kelley ascribed the largest and northernmost of these, the Temple of the Cross (TC), to the cult of a feathered serpent deity, born on a day Nine Wind as Kukulcan (or Quetzalcoatl). The lowest and westernmost unit of the group is the Temple of the Sun (TS), which he ascribed to a god born on a day One Flower connected with agriculture. The easternmost unit, the Temple of the Foliated Cross (TFC), he assigned to a war god born on and named Thirteen Death.

The destroying weakness of this argument comes from the selection of obscure and insignificant passages to carry the whole proof. If we begin anew with the principal figures (Figs. 25-27), an altogether different configuration of claimed meaning emerges. At all three temples the same two officiants are portrayed. One is tall and he wears a small loincloth. The other is short and he is clad in voluminous mufflers as well as a tunic made of belt-like wrappings. This striking contrast of minimal and maximal clothing suggests that the two officiants belong to different climates. Indeed, at the Sun and at the Foliated Cross, both tall figures with little clothing stand on the north sides of their tablets, and the warmly clothed figures stand on the south sides.

Palenque actually occupies the frontier between southern rainforest (Af climate) and northern savanna (Aw). Rising southward away from Palenque are the cool highland valleys with large classic Maya centers like Ocosingo at 900 m. above sea level, or Tonina in Chiapas (Blom and LaFarge 1926-1927) about 50 airline kilometers due south. A working hypothesis therefore could begin with this thrice-repeated joining of northern and southern worshippers at the temples of Palenque. They officiate with graphemic figurines at the Sun (Fig. 26). At the Cross, the short visitor from the south offers a corn scepter with the triadic symbol (Fig. 25). Both at the Cross and the Foliated Cross (Fig. 27), the short officiant has near him a Mexican-sounding birth-date, here 5 Lamat. In an equivalent position at the Temple of the Cross, the tall figure is perhaps named by the detached glyph T V.4: 506.126. At the Cross, our short figure makes a noteworthy gesture: with his left hand he pulls at the scarf on his neck as if to get more air. On his chest we see rattler (crotalus) signs, and on his mufflers are the four-way hatchings (T 656) which occur at Teotihuacan and at associated places (Kubler 1968, 15; Blom and LaFarge, 1926-27, fig. 38). Extending the hypothesis, one could claim that a political union between northern and southern peoples, between highlanders and lowlanders, is being celebrated by the common acceptance of the worship customary at Palenque.

Iconographical, archaeological, and epigraphic evidences, however, establish the Temple of Inscriptions (TI) as the oldest member of this same group. Alberto Ruz (1958) discovered that TI surrounds a magnificent burial chamber containing the sarcophagus of the ruler whose reign the building commemorates. Its lid (Fig. 39) has a plant like that of TC. The temple chambers above the crypt contain three long inscriptions, in which the god-names (Fig. 24a) of Berlin and Kelley occur in five separate clauses (Berlin, 1963, 94):

East tablet (I): glyph blocks B8-B9; D11-E1; F9-F10

Middle (II): F5-E7

West (III): A5-B6

These tablets are the longest Maya inscriptions in existence, having $240 + 140 \pm 240$ glyph blocks. Among these are 6 examples of the "initial" birth (T 740) glyph. The first one appears at F 4 on the middle tablet, within what may be an invocation calling upon the names of the three spirits or gods (Berlin, 1963, 96, clause 3a). This birth glyph (T 740) probably refers to an appellative at E 8 which reappears 17 times on the three tablets (Middle: C 4, E 8, G 3. West: A 3, F 2, E 5, G 3, I 5, J 12?, L 5, O 2, P 6, R 2, S 2, S 6, T 12). Let us call it the "sun shield" glyph as if it were an appellative (T 184.624).

If we define an appellative (or personal name) as consisting of pictorial forms which describe beings and objects rather than sounds, no other appellative reappears as frequently at Palenque as sun-shield. Its appearance at E 8 is followed at E 9 by the Palenque emblem glyph (T 570). F 2 follows a birthing sign; E 5 is surrounded by dates; G 3 precedes the Palenque emblem and follows what may be an inaugural glyph at H 2, I 5 precedes a Palenque emblem (T 793); J 12 (badly eroded) precedes a birth sign. O 2 is surrounded by dates, like R 2 and S 6. T 12 is the final block of the entire inscription of 680 blocks, and it conjoins sun-shield with the Palenque emblem, as so often in other inscriptions (Fig. 24b).

This glyph contains more than just a "sun" and "shield." The shield element (T 624) also designates the third of the series of nine gods first identified by Thompson (1929) as forming a cycle of regents of the Maya nights in perpetual sequence. This third "god" was designated as G, but as a Night Lord, its affixes are very different from those of "sun-shield". Thompson (1950, 209) connected G 3 with a pluvial deity, and this regency may appear in the presumptive name-glyph we are discussing.

In 1943 and 1957 Berlin commented on two different inscriptions at Palenque in which T 624 appears between the day 5 Eb and the month 5 Kayab (9.12.19.14.12). One of them, discovered in 1942, was found in the basement of TS; the other belonged to TFC. He also believed T 624 belonged among the Nine Night Lord glyphs and that it corresponded in these inscriptions to G 3F, although Teeple's lunar formula called for G 4. Berlin also noted other anomalies in these two inscriptions: a calendar Round Date does not usually include any form of Glyph G of the lunar series.

Slight variants in the sun shield glyph [See Table, opposite] make it possible that the appellative is a lineage-name carried by a dynasty. Its frequent association with birthing signs might also signify the children of one person. The conjoining of the birth sign with sun-shield as at T1, middle tablet G 3 (T 122: 624b) recurs on the stairway inscription of House C at A 5 following an IS date of 9.8.9.13.13, and preceding the invocation of the

three deities in D2. On the eaves of House C, sun-shield appears once more adjoining the emblem of Palenque. At TC the tablet contains one probable reference to sun-shield at K 4. Other parts of the inscription deal with births (A 17-B 17) and with the births of T 11:212: 764. Kelley translates this as "feather snake" or Kukulcan, although 764 resembles bat more than serpent.

Sun-shield is commemorated also at TFC (Fig. 27) on the tablet, together with the Palenque emblem at J 1-K 1, as well as on the tablet of TS at L 5 in connection with a woman and the emblem of Palenque, directly over the panoply (Fig. 26) which is represented as a shield on crossed spears. The panoply receives the homage of two priests and four supporting spirit-figures with glyphic heads.

Table: T 624 variants: [] = infix; / = next glyph

TI middle:	C 4	=	184.624 : 178
	— E 8	=	184.122 : 624 [585]
	G 3	=	74.184.122 : 624b
TI west:	A 3	=	74 : 184 : 624.586 : 27 : 24
	F 2	=	2 : 585.586 : ?
	E 5	=	74.184.624b
	— G 3	=	74.184.624 [585] : 586.38
	— I 5	=	74.184.624 [585]
	J 12	=	? : ? .586
	— L 5	=	184.624 [585]
	— O 2	=	74.184.294 : 624 [585]
	P 6	=	58 : 182 : 202. ? : 116
	— R 2	=	60 ? : 624 [585] : ? : 178
	S 2	=	74 : 184 : 624b.1000 : 178
	— S 6	=	86 ? : 74.74 : 184 : 624 [585]
	— T 12	=	86 : 74 : 624 [585] / emblem 570
TI east:	— R 11	=	74.184.624 [585] : 178
House C stair eaves	— A 5	=	74.184.122 : 624b
	5	=	74 : 184 : 624 [585] / 586 : 178.25
TC	K 4	=	? : 624a : ?
TC east stair	— D 2	=	184 ? 624b : 178
TFC tablet South stair	— J 1	=	74.184.122 : 624 [585] / emblem 793
	— D 2	=	184 ? 624a
TS	— L 5	=	74.184. 624 [585]

These ubiquitous appearances of the name, and its climactic citations at TS in connection with a sun-shield panoply, as well as at TI, where the life and lineage of sun shield may be the principal topics, make it a plausible hypothesis to suppose that the appellee

lative connects these monuments as glorifications of one person or lineage. The sun-shield panoply (Fig. 26) may be an image of the personal badge of the ruler whose remains are in the sarcophagus of the crypt. (Proskouriakoff has written me that she thinks "sun-shield's" reign seems to begin about 9.12.0.0.0).

Berlin (1959) has shown that heads and glyphs on the lid, walls, and legs of the sarcophagus correspond to historical persons. Three of these wall-figures are women of whom the glyphs for two reappear on the east tablet in the upper temple itself at L 4 – K 5 and L 8 – K 9. The historical connection of these figures, both male and female, probably appears on the edge of the lid, (Fig. 28), where CR dates connect with nominal glyphs by a quincunx (T 585). Berlin suggests that this connective means any one of several events: birth, marriage, death, conquest, or accession. One might also regard it as a standard form of sun-shield signifying the relation of these persons represented upon the sarcophagus wall to its occupant, whether as forebears, issue, or siblings, and mates.

If sun-shield (T 624) is the occupant, the reading order of the glyphs of the vertical faces of the lid might follow the diagram in Fig. 28, opening at the south face near the west corner, and proceeding counterclockwise to the closing glyph adjoining the initial glyph on the southwest corner. The opening clause on the south contains a birth sign (T 740) followed after a date by the sun-shield. This calendar Round date, 6 Eznab 11 Yax, corresponds to 9.12.11.5.18 (= 683 A.D.) and it recurs on the tablet of TI west at T 5 where it again precedes the sun shield sign. Ruz implies (1954) that 683 is the date of the death and burial. Hence the south side might be interpreted as stating the death and the name of the body of the man aged 40-50 in the sarcophagus. The west side mentions Palenque and a date 1 Ahau 8 Kayab (9.10.0.0.0), also cited on the TI tablet. Here it precedes T 644, connected by Thompson (1962, 253) with "seating" or inauguration. The Palenque emblem appears soon after, and again on the north side. The lengthy east side mentions 7 Ahau 3 Kankin (9.7.0.0.0) and two women (the first female glyph closes the west inscription). The dates as interpreted by Ruz (1952, 94) span 111 years, and may therefore recapitulate a lineage and three marriages leading to this reign.

Other historical figures

Suggestions of coherent symbolic meaning emerge from the study of the ceremonies shown in grouped buildings and chambers. Their execution lasted through several generations, and their present condition is ruinous but the intended symbolic communication was strongly enough imprinted upon these walls and stones still to emerge as an iconographic design both in the main building groups, as well as in individual structures.

The presence of extensive figural cycles, or series of scenes, at Palenque, requires much fuller discussion than the more scattered and isolated iconographic units at other classic Maya sites. In addition, the commemorative intention at Palenque is conveyed by inscriptions rather than by figural scenes. The carved figures of people are more remote from the accidents and distinguishing marks of individuality than elsewhere in Maya art. Most of these persons are graceful, ephebic and courtly. Absorbed in ritual gestures, they are removed from daily occupations. A few reliefs show kneeling persons engaged in writing or speaking or as servants and captives, but these are the only allusions to every-

day life: all other figural scenes exist in spaces governed by myth, ritual, and repetitious surrounds of glyptic elements.

The historical immediacy of the figural system at Piedras Negras has no counterpart at Palenque, nor is there any parallel there for the aggressive and penitential subject-matter of Yaxchilan and Bonampak. Palenque shares this priestly remoteness with the Peten and the southeast, but the formal means are more pictorial than sculptural. The pictorial qualities of Palenque are like those of the Usumacinta region in general, and unlike the full-round sculpture of the southeast. Their closest affinities as to form and content are perhaps with Peten relief carving.

In her stylistic analysis of the sculpture at Palenque, Fuente (1965, 168-170) distinguished the following periods and groups:

- I. Hieratic mythological, 610-692 A.D.
 - a. Early phase, 610-667
 - House C (Fig. 34)
 - House A, interior medallions (Fig. 32)
 - House E, oval stone relief
 - House D, exterior stuccoes (Fig. 33)
 - Palace tablet, north gallery
 - Temple of the Inscriptions, exterior stuccoes (Fig. 38), wall figures in crypt (Fig. 41)
 - b. Late phase, 667-692
 - House A, exterior reliefs (Fig. 31)
 - House E, interior stuccoes (Fig. 62)
 - Temple of the Sun (TS) Fig. 26
 - Temple of the Cross (TC) Fig. 25
 - Temple of the Foliated Cross (TFC) Fig. 27
 - Temple of the Inscriptions (TI), sarcophagus and its offerings (Fig. 39)
- II. Dynamic naturalism, 721-783
 - a. Early phase, 721-751
 - Tablet of the Slaves, Group IV (Fig. 37)
 - Temple of the Foliated Cross, pottery; censers and stone "censer" relief (Fig. 73)
 - b. Late phase, 751-783
 - Beau relief
 - Tablet of the Scribe, Palace
 - Tablet of the Orator, Palace
 - Creation relief, Palace (Fig. 93)
 - Intaglio relief of long-nosed head, Palace (Fig. 94)
- III. Decadence, after 783
 - House E, Madrid stone relief panel
 - Palace, northeast court orthostats

The designations for II and III follow the classification by Proskouriakoff (1950) and pertain more to stylistic effect than the label for I, which describes content. The Fuente classing is retained here as a chronological guide to the sequence of the dated sculptures. For purposes of iconographic study, it will be necessary to return to the themes manifested in each building by the totality of its sculpture.

Palenque, on the banks of the Rio Otulum, flowing north down a steep ravine, occupies a level plateau where the river's course runs briefly underground in a vaulted passage of classic Maya construction (Fig. 29). East of the river is a terraced enclosure dominated at the north by the Temple of the Cross. West of the river are the Palace and the Temple of Inscriptions, both facing north. The buildings occupy nearly level ground extending east and west, with hills rising steeply behind them to the south. North of Palenque these hills fall away another 100 meters toward the flat lowlands of Tabasco. The site thus marks a transition between southern hill country and northern lowlands, and its buildings are visible from afar to the north, rising high above the forest on their plateau in the foothills of Chiapas. The northernmost building groups are the most ravaged. The southern clusters, nestled against their steeply forested backdrop, are the best preserved, still retaining an abundance of sculpture.

The Palace (Fig. 30) occupies a terraced platform approached by a wide northern stairway. The ends of the terraces were decorated with colossal stucco faces of humans measuring 1.20 meters high. The example published by Blom and LaFarge (1927-28, I, fig. 130) lacks symbolic deformations. It may belong to a class of idealized representations.

On the Palace platform the northern perimeter was surrounded by long parallel chambers opening both out to the exterior and into the inner courts through wide doorways separated by figured piers. These long chambers turned the corners at the northern face, and they are the only surviving Maya examples of angled chambers turning corners. The exterior effect invited the visitor with an alternation of open doors and stucco reliefs of which a few still exist at the northern end of the east facade, overlooking the lower river.

These exterior panels on the eastern piers of House A (Fig. 31) all are enframed by borders of sky signs signifying the heavenly or divine class of the persons portrayed. One panel contains glyphs, and four others show standing men in profile, wearing jaguar pelts and carrying manikin-scepter staffs. These principals are flanked by seated figures and they are probably all historical, being accompanied by short glyptic labels, all unfortunately illegible. Three of the seated figures are women (pier c, left; pier d, right; pier e, right). One of them (pier c) wears the long-nosed helmet surmounted by the triadic sign. In the headdresses of three of the standing men (c, d, e) is another badge, showing a fish nibbling on water-plants.

Such badges may pertain to ritual functions connected with agricultural and subsistence activities. The triadic sign, as claimed on p. 36 may relate to a ritual of burning the fields for the coming crop of corn, and the fish-headdress is possibly related to food drawn from the rivers. A working hypothesis for their interpretation might regard all these figures as members of the ruling family whose authority is manifested by their insignia. These regalia may signify inherited or earned ritual offices, and the display of these activities on the approaches to the palace perhaps justifies the status of the rulers.

In the long corridor behind these facade panels and on its median wall, near the impost, are carved stucco medallions in rounded frames (Fig. 32), each containing the head and shoulders of a human figure, and resembling a portrait gallery. The best early drawings of the gallery by J. H. Caddy in 1839, show seven medallions (Pendergast, 1967, plates 11, 14, 15). These medallions also surround quatrefoil inner frames. An outer border of glyphs divides in four quadrants separated by radial dividers, resembling skeletal alligator heads.

This theme of the portrait medallion surrounded by radial alligator motifs, reappears at Yaxchilan on stelas 1, 4, 6 and 10 related to ascension. Over a double-headed band of sky signs, appear paired medallions, surrounded radially by four abbreviated alligator-head teeth, and enframing men and women who bear ceremonial bars (Fig. 1).

On the opposite western facade of House D at the Palace are more pier reliefs, originally at least seven, with glyph panels at the ends of a series of five scenes (Fig. 33). The subject matter here differs from that of the west piers in House A. Here the scenes are enframed by glyptic forms, and their content has to do more with dancers and ritual actions than the family portrayals facing the river. The southernmost panel is an inscription, of which one preserved fragment opens with a birth sign (Maudslay, IV, pl. 34). The four surviving scenes each contain two human figures enframed by glyptic forms and standing upon interlaces or serpentine shapes. Pier b, nearest the corner shows a seated figure threatened by an axe-wielding dignitary who wears a jaguar belt, and stands upon a geometric serpent. The serpent's head is a long-nosed skull. The northernmost pier relief repeats the composition: the standing figure here seizes the hair of the sitting person, brandishing the axe as if to cut the hair or draw blood. The victim is seated on a long-nosed skull, and his captor treads an interlace of water-plants and long-nosed skull. Both these scenes recall the funeral sacrifices on the *Altar de Sacrificios* vase (Fig. 23), especially in their depiction of victims under axe-wielding officiants.

Piers c and d both show dancers. On pier c the dancer treads a water-lily interlace, bearing a corn scepter and confronting a kneeling figure. On pier d the dancer treads a band signifying fire (T 563), and he assists a woman facing him in controlling an upright serpent between them. Thus all four scenes, facing the same court as the Temple of Inscriptions, pertain to rituals which resemble those of other funeral scenes, such as the dancers at Quirigua (Fig. 22), or the sacrificial victim of the *Altar de Sacrificios* vase (Fig. 23). Fire and water themes are prominent in the glyptic surrounds and baselines: perhaps as at Teotihuacan, two kinds of water and two kinds of fire are symbolized (H. v. Winning, 1958).

Separating the two north courts, House C likewise shows three surviving stucco reliefs on the six piers of its western facade (Fig. 34). Seated crosslegged on thrones these regal figures, wearing immense feather headdresses, gesture toward a wide central doorway bay. One of them wears a humming-bird mask; another wears a goggle-eyed butterfly helmet and a possible speech-scroll emerges from his lips in the Teotihuacan convention (Kubler, 1967, fig. 42). Among the glyph panels in the facing of the foundation of this facade (D 3), is an emblem of which the main grapheme is the frontal version of this goggled face. Can it be an emblem of Teotihuacan? A third figure wears crossed bands and a jaguar tail in his headdress, like the figures in stucco on the wall of the crypt of

the Temple of Inscriptions (Fig. 41). Below the piers on the facing slabs of the foundations are the figures of captives crowded together on the west side, and confined upon narrow slabs at the eastern court. The spatial significance resembles other scenes of rulers with captives, as on many stelas and lintels (e.g. stela 12 at Piedras Negras). The median wall in the west corridor also shows stucco heads representing nine grotesque masks (Fig. 35). Only five are recognizable, and they may show the spirits called the Nine Night Lords, whose lineaments are so often recorded on obsidian flakes at Tikal.

These three figural cycles spread upon the northernmost palace houses seem to compose a coherent positional program. The eastern reliefs (House A) portray family groups related to rulership by the presence of the manikin scepter and the sky-sign borders (Figs. 31, 32). The western reliefs (House D) relate (Fig. 33) to the funerary rituals described by Adams (1968 ms). The central reliefs at House C depict various enthroned figures (Fig. 34) and probably portray actual rulers, like the vanished figure on the double-headed jaguar throne drawn by Waldeck at the Temple of the Beau Relief upriver above the Temple of the Inscriptions.

The dynastic ceremonies described here perhaps all had their ritual origin in the oldest building of the Palace, House E (9.12.0.0.0). Maudslay first remarked that its foundations antedate those of the other adjoining buildings (1899-1902, text, p. 23). Its northern doorway chamber bears indoors the ascension symbols in stucco relief (Fig. 61) which characterize the ascension stelas of a later date at Piedras Negras (9.13.10.0.0-9.15.0.0.0), and the stairs leading up into it from the southern subterranean chambers not only fulfill the "ascensional" idea represented on the Piedras Negras stelas (11, 14), but they also display its bicephalic sky form arching over the vault of those stairs (Fig. 62).

House E also contained an oval stone relief in the median wall, facing west into the tower court, representing a seated woman offering a tall mosaic crown to a ruler seated upon a two-headed jaguar throne. Another stone relief from House E, (now in Madrid) supported one leg of a dais, showing a man seated upon an *imix* glyph (for "abundance") and supporting a huge water-lily plant. House E, with its "ascensional" stair and bicephalic canopies, as well as its throne and the portrayal of an enthronement, was thus a house of rulership and the physical center of the ritual of ascension at Palenque.

The coronation theme reappears twice more, on stone tablets found in the center of the north Palace gallery, and in Group IV about 300 meters northeast of the Palace. In the Palace tablet a woman and a man flanking the ruler offer him regalia. All are seated on ceremonial bars. The Slave tablet from the north group (Fig. 37) repeats the theme, but the three persons sit on the backs of prisoners and masked beings.

The manikin-staff reliefs at the Palace (Fig. 31) and the baby reliefs at the Temple of Inscriptions (Fig. 38) seem to be coeval works from the same workshop on related subjects. As on the east facade at the Palace, the piers of the Temple of Inscriptions are framed by sky signs outside a scalloped border. Both series of panels are integrally proportioned. At the Palace, $ht : w = 3 : 2$; and the Inscriptions panels are as 4 : 5. Another point of comparison is in the grotesque heads. At the Temple of Inscriptions, the four figures stand upon such heads, which appear as wall decorations on the median wall of House A (Fig. 35). In both series, three round glyphs appear over each panel, and it seems likely that both are the work of the same shop of craftsmen. As at the Palace, the series has at both ends long inscriptions without figures.

The four piers at the Temple display standing frontal figures who carry infants (Fig. 38). Left of center, they are a man and a woman but right of center they are both men. On the woman's baby the underarm, calf, and thigh are scaly as if to represent serpent flesh. From between each baby's feet, a serpent body emerges, of which the distended jaws rest on the outstretched hand of the bearer. The formula recalls the presentation of the infant as shown in Room 1 at Bonampak (Fig. 6a), but it is here surrounded by suggestions of divine nature. Here the question arises whether the baby is the same individual in all four scenes, or different each time.

The general idea bears comparison with the east facade reliefs at the Palace (Fig. 31). Both series of four panels show one woman and three men. The figure with the cape on pier e at the Palace may represent the same woman who wears a skirt on pier c at the Temple (Fig. 38). At the Palace four tall panels all display an identical manikin staff held by a different person in each panel. Elsewhere the manikin staff is associated with rulership and in many representations its serpent jaw terminates in a serpent-body staff. Its serpent-nature is usually marked as clearly as the serpentine identity of the baby on the reliefs of the Temple of Inscriptions. The presentation reliefs therefore might pertain to questions connected with an infant successor to the illustrious person buried in the crypt below, while the eastern Palace reliefs may identify the members of a council of regency whose authority is indicated by the manikin staff, and who are the bearers of the infant shown at the Temple of Inscriptions.

The crypt contains three figural scenes relating to dynastic funerals, placed on the sarcophagus lid, on its sidewalls, and on the walls of the crypt. The lid has a sky-sign border on the long sides (Fig. 39). Within are skeletal jaws like those of an earth monster. Within the jaws is a long-nosed head, surmounted by a triadic sign upon which a youth reclines. Behind him rises a corn plant (Lizardi Ramos, 1952, 27). On its crosspiece hangs a serpentine ceremonial bar, and a mythical bird perches atop the plant. The corn-plant symbolism, which repeats that of the Temple of the Cross (Fig. 27), may stand as a metaphor or allegory for renewal in death, whereby the grown corn and the dead ruler are equated as temporal expressions promising spiritual continuity despite the death of the body. Thompson (1967, pl. 16) says that the scene is "ritualistic and may have no reference to the buried chief." The nexus between the youth and the plant is the triad (Figs. 54, 55), claimed here as relating to the ritual of burning the fields prior to their sowing with the future crop.

The sidewalls of the sarcophagus (Fig. 40) are treated as a continuous band of earth (*caban*) signs much like the RE ("reptile's eye") glyph at Teotihuacan (H. v. Winning, 1961). From this earth band rise ten half-figures surrounded by plant forms, and repeating the relation between the youth and the corn-plant on the lid. The plants are thought by Thompson (1967) to represent cacao and avocado: Ruz (1958, 102) adds others, including guayaba, jícara, and cocoyol. The same named couple are represented on the north and south ends. One other woman appears on the east and west sides (E 3 = W 2) accompanied by four men. Thus seven people are portrayed, three of them twice. The name glyphs of at least two of them (T 585; T 684) may reappear on the inscription surrounding the sides of the slab of the lid. Thompson (1967, 17) suggests that they "represent contemporaries of the dead chief and played allegorical parts in the ritual." Thompson translates the name glyph of one woman (south) as "lady white parrot." Others are even less intelligible. Comparable representations, as we have seen, occur at altars O and P at Quirigua

where the dancers seem to rise from clefts or openings in the carved signs at their feet (Fig. 22). Clay figurines of Jaina style, such as those in the Olsen Collection at Yale, showing old people emerging from flowers, may depict a similar theme of death and renewal.

The walls of the crypt itself are lined with nine stucco reliefs of nearly identical figures (Fig. 41). Three are seated at the north end, and the others stand, facing north on the side walls. The two end figures at the south wear latticed skirts and probably represent women. All nine figures are otherwise costumed alike and carry the same regalia, excepting differences in pectoral ornaments. The seated figures wear no pectorals, and the standing figures wear two types, either face-peccorals or glyptic pectorals. The mosaic capelets differ also in that the northernmost figures wear capes with crosses in each mosaic unit, and the southern figures wear capes resembling brickwork. The standing figures wear cross-tape leggings; all figures wear cross-tape armlets. All carry manikin scepters and sun-shields like the one in the panoply of the Temple of the Sun (Fig. 26). The scepters have long-nosed heads with blades traversing the forehead. Each scepter staff is a serpent body ending in a head with closed jaws.

The arrangement of the half-figures on the sarcophagus walls showed that of ten figures, only seven persons are named, three of them twice. The same repetitious principle may govern the crypt reliefs. The nine stucco figures include possibly two women in east and west files. If these are east and west "aspects" of the same person, the same relation could hold for men, so that three men and one woman may appear twice each. If the ninth seated figure on the north wall can be regarded as a third replica of the seated person, then we have as in the Palace reliefs and on the temple piers above the crypt, three men and one woman, but multiplied to nine by repetitions, as if to coalesce a historical reality of specific persons with a sacred number. On the sarcophagus walls the number of figures is ten, but there are only seven persons; on the crypt walls, nine figures can be reduced to four persons. Perhaps a third consideration enters in the possible wish of the designer to fill the available spaces harmoniously and symmetrically. To do so he perhaps had to duplicate and multiply his *dramatis personae* in ways tolerated by processional schemes.

Palenque conforms in all significant particulars to the general configuration of classic Maya dynastic iconography. The principal ceremonies noted elsewhere are in evidence with local variations: the presentation of the infant; the ascension of the ruler to power; the ruler shown victorious; the burner theme; the family group; and the funeral rites with impersonators.

IV

RITUAL IMAGES

Theoretical questions concerning the history of religious thought, such as the place of animism in the panorama of early cultures, have lost interest for many present-day students, who prefer to regard the concept as secondary and the act as primary (R. Benedict, 1930,

66). In line with this direction the study of behavior has long been crucial, as indicated by R. R. Marett's phrase (1914), that early religion was "danced out, not thought out."

Ritual and myth.

This focus upon ritual rather than myth, and on acts rather than beliefs, has early antecedents in the comparative studies of religion initiated by Robertson Smith (1889). He first postulated that ritual is the ultimate fact, and that the explanations or myths attached to ritual are secondary (Hvidtfeldt, 1958, 14). This older orientation still is valid wherever ritual acts can be documented, in spite of the recent studies by Lévi-Strauss (1964) reaffirming the primacy of myth by his structural classification of the various versions of a body of myths.

Unfortunately, no texts like Sahagun's detailed descriptions of Aztec ritual have survived for the Maya peoples. Landa's remarks on ritual bear only upon the Mexicanized ceremonials of Yucatan in the sixteenth century nearly eight hundred years after the cessation of classic Maya society. Its ritual behavior, however, was reported in sculpture and painting. These records are far from useless for the study of ritual acts, and the absence of intelligible texts about them justifies their close study as our only visual evidence of ancient Maya behavior.

Our inventory of representations shows few if any images of gods but many human impersonators of such spirits as clan ancestors and totems in classic Maya art. The person wearing parts of the body of an animal impersonates that animal's spirit, and thereby declares the social groupings to which he belongs by birth or by initiation (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 258-9). Such ideas of spirit-impersonation probably governed the costuming of the figures in Maya art, and they help to explain the presence of human wearers of animal body-parts in both commemorative and ritual scenes. Examples are common in painted pottery of Tepeu date. The acrobatic jaguars on the Uaxactun plate (Fig. 42) are humans in jaguar-suits.

It is therefore important to separate drawings of animals for their own sake from animal-impersonators, and it is likely that the latter far outnumber the former. Such symbolic depictions of animal forms tend towards composite beings or fantastic animals more than towards objective life studies. The same principle seems to hold for plant forms. At the great tomb in Palenque, the sarcophagus wall-figures connect the rebirth of named persons with plants emerging like the persons from the earth (Fig. 40). The animal head-dresses may characterize these persons' social groups as to bird or jaguar ancestor or patron, and the plants may identify their lineages in further detail, by representing real species as well as symbolic compounds.

Heads as ritual objects.

Whether rendered freehand or in glyptic form, the most common item among classic Maya paraphernalia is the detailed and bodiless head (Figs. 54, 55). Both human and animal varieties occur in every context. The classic Maya scene without such heads in pictorial or epigraphic form is a rarity. The basic glyph forms for numbers and periods, and for names, places, and actions generally have head variants. In pictorial spaces, heads appear in costume and as stage-setting elements, as offerings, as instruments, and as totemic names.

In the manuscripts, head forms distinguish the gods who govern the activities of the calendar and the fates of those living under their regencies. Among the elements of costume, back masks are of special interest as being possible indicators of ritual functions as well as geographically defined habits of representation.

Such back masks normally appear on profile figures in relief sculpture, or on the backs of full-rounded stelas like stela H at Copan. (Fig. 55). They can be shown on frontal figures in the classic Maya stance only by being exaggerated in profile perspective as on two vases from Holmul and from British Honduras (Fig. 56). Here the dancers wear back masks larger than they are. A similar perspective deformation appears on lintel 3 of Temple IV at Tikal, where a long-nose mask is shown pendant from the headdress at the right shoulder. The meaning is far from clear. Profile figures are often secondary in rank, as on the Uaxactun vase (A. L. Smith, 1934), where tall back masks are worn by courtiers standing before a seated ruler. Yet the back mask adorns rulers also, as on stela H at Copan. It usually represents a long-nosed head of glyptic type, or a skull.

On the Actun Balam vase, nearly nude deer hunters wear spotted pouches strapped on their backs by chest-bands (Fig. 47). It is conceivable that the back mask is a ceremonial form of this utilitarian pouch for a tool-or food-kit, and that it designates a ritual "hunter's" office like that of the "burner" on stela H, where the triadic sign surmounts a glyptic head (Fig. 55).

Although the use of back masks is known at Bonampak (stela 2, and lintels of structure 1) in the western river country, the back mask is more common in the Peten and to the east and south of this region than in the western country, where dynastic scenes were the preferred images. Perhaps the back mask relates to an eastern Maya preference for ritual images and representations.

Animal-head helmets are another important class of graphemic elements used in costumes. Proskouriakoff (1950, 50-58) studied the elaborate headdresses of classic Maya sculpture in great detail, finding 33 types, among which four are numerically significant. The early group enframes the wearer's face between the jaws or elements of glyptic animal heads (Fig. 57). B and C groups have animal helmets only, without lower chin frames. Late classic forms resemble hats and turbans (types G-Q).

In and on these headdresses are various depictions resembling badges. These still require much more study, but in this context, the most common of them is the crossed-bands or saltire motif (Fig. 52a). It has been associated with fire by friction and with union and copulation (p. 34). In conjunction with the shell motif and a leaf or flame, it appears in the three-part sign claimed here as signifying the burning of the fields in the agricultural cycle before sowing (Figs. 54, 55). In headdresses this three-part sign is usually associated with a helmet formed of the upper skull of a long-nosed glyptic head (Fig. 72).

Many glyptic heads appear to serve as locative signs, especially when they appear below an action, or over it, or in directional positions on the rim of a circular form. At Tikal, for example, stela 1 stands upon a base carved with the long-nosed head wearing a Tikal emblem glyph (T 569) as headdress. On stelas 29 and 31 at Tikal, the ruler figures are surmounted by heads floating overhead and looking down upon the figure, as if to characterize its position or rank (Figs. 70, 71). On a basal-flange bowl from Holmul, similar sky-

heads look toward the center from the rim (Merwin and Vaillant, 1932, pl. 24), and this theme recurs at Uaxactun on the walls of another basal flange bowl of about the same early classic period (Ricketson and Ricketson, 1937, pl. 86).

Acts of worship require an object which is not necessarily visible. They are recognized by a reverent donation which may range from the surrender of the worshipper's whole person to a ritual gesture of humility. Classic Maya art belongs at the latter end of this spectrum of religious behavior. Recognizable acts of worship are rare, and they are marked by restraint and formality. Stela 40 at Piedras Negras is the most independent and original of these expressions (Fig. 43). Within a frame of garlanded corn leaves, it shows a kneeling corn sower casting seed upon a lower register where an enthroned bust is visible. Other selected examples of this gesture, performed by a standing ruler figure, are at Yaxchilan (stela 27), Seibal (stela 19), and Aguateca (stelas 1, 5). A seated figure appears on a carved bone published by Barthel (1967) as possibly from Jaina: Barthel interprets the gesture as casting lots, but the parallel with stela 40 is too close to ignore, with the seated figure casting grain in the direction of a head below him. The gesture also reappears in an action glyph (T 670, Z 161) which Kelley (1962), like Rands (1955) interpreted as water-sprinkling. At Quirigua the glyph is connected with the appearances of the ruler called "Two-legged sky" (Kelley, 1962b, 328). Thus these acts of worship addressed to a corn spirit are likely to be performed by historical persons, and they may form part of the cycle of dynastic ceremonies.

Other recognizable acts of religious worship are difficult to find. Somewhat problematic are the examples at Palenque in the three temples (Sun, Cross, Foliated Cross). Each tablet shows a cult object (panoply or corn plant) flanked by two officiants (Figs. 25-27). In all three appearances the tall man offers manikins like those found at Tikal, and the short person offers either a crested manikin (Sun) or a corn-scepter (Cross) or a feathered scepter (Foliated Cross).

Whether such visible cult objects were common at classic Maya temples is difficult to say. The late classic wooden figure of an aging priest at prayer from the southwest Maya country (Fig. 44), can be compared to an early classic pottery effigy censer from Tikal (Fig. 45). But both figures seem absorbed in their own devotions more than by a visible numen, unlike the courtly officiants of Palenque, who seem to pay homage to official symbols, and who may be representatives of political power rather than of spirituality.

Regencies.

In the three post-classic codices about 30 types of "deities" are distinctly identifiable and separable (Zimmerman, 1956, pl. 7) and have been accepted by students for several generations (Schellhas, 1904). In classic inscriptions and sculpture, no definite body of figures of deities can be labelled and recognized. True, there are various series such as the nine forms of glyph G (Thompson, 1960, 209, fig. 34) and their head variants as well as eighteen figures whose heads or glyphs appear as month patrons in the superfix of the introducing glyph (Thompson, 1960, figs. 22, 23). But a large company of astrological regents like those of the manuscripts, is hard to find in the inscriptions. The presumed figures of gods, like "Chacs", appear in many forms, as at Tikal, where three or four different forms

coexist (W. Coe, corresp. 14 May 1968). In general the multiplicity of the deities in the manuscripts is lacking in classic Maya iconography. There is no body of images of activities accompanied by suitable divine regents, and in place of the gods, we probably see only images of spirits, whose attributes and characteristics vary according to place and period.

Mythical narratives.

Maya pottery painting includes many scenes for which rational explanations are inadequate. A lost folk-literature of mythical character can be assumed to account for some of these images. They violate coherence and unity by the substitution of plural conditions, and by depicting compound beings in imaginary times and places. Such pictorial conditions are easily recognized, even when no key is at hand, and they are antithetical to the conditions of historical representation. Their number and their family relationships are still undetermined, but at least two cycles of mythologizing folk-tales are evident. One deals with a humanized nature, where plants have faces, and animals wear clothes. Another cycle is about a young woman and her old lover.

Two painted vases depicting deer-hunts are witnesses of the first of these cycles. One from Calcehtok in Yucatan (Fig. 46) has two scenes occupying a continuous space. The first shows a tree with a human face as its trunk. In the branches sit two winged humans. Below them on the ground sit two open-mouthed (singing?) deer. A serpent winds about the tree between the humans and the deer. The other scene shows two hunters brandishing an antler and a haunch over a deer wounded by a stone weapon, collared with a large weight, and wearing a mantle covered with crossbones. The hunters stand still; the deer still moves. A similar scene occurs on the vase from Actun Balam (Fig. 47), where the irrational element is a miniature human astride one deer's neck. These scenes may relate to a Maya convention that drought was portrayed by dying deer (Thompson, 1960, 270) and that deer (*Ceh*) was the Yucatec name of the twelfth month. An example of Motagua carved ware (Fig. 48) displays these elements again, with another narrative direction. Two deer-stalkers carrying the heads and forelegs of deerskins approach a bird in a tree. The tree sprouts from the head of a dog or monkey below (Smith and Kidder, 1943, fig. 27).

The tree scene on the Calcehtok vase may refer to an origin myth: in Mixtec genealogies the ancestors of the lineages are shown born from trees. The image of the plant growing from a human head first appears in pre-classic Olmec iconography, and it recurs in Maya representations of plants growing from glyptic heads, as at Palenque (Figs. 25, 27, 39).

The theme of the young woman and an old man embracing recurs on Jaina figurines (Fig. 49), in the codices (Fig. 52b), and at San José in British Honduras (Groth-Kimball, 1961, 26, 28; Lothrop, 1957, pl. LXXV; Thompson, 1939, fig. 92). The Bliss Collection figurine (Fig. 49) shows the old man wearing a deer-head headdress; his partner's hair may contain serpent coils. The posture recalls full-figure initial-series glyphs, and it may refer to a specific combination of number and period, as at Quirigua, on the west side of stela D, where an aged allegorical figure of the baktun (or 400-year cycle) is shown amorously interlocked with a recumbent woman representing the number nine (Fig. 50).

These remarks on the ritual images of isolated heads, back masks, animal helmets, acts

of worship, regencies, and myths all have prepared the way for a closing discussion of one form which touches on many ritual matters as well as upon historical and commemorative representations. The triadic sign is worn by spirits and by rulers: it is both ritual and commemorative when we examine its many applications.

V

T H E T R I A D I C S I G N:
A F I R E S Y M B O L ?

Previous discussion.

A. P. Maudslay (1889-1902, text vol. I, 51; text vol. IV, 37) first called attention, without being able to explain its meaning, to a striking three-part "symbolical ornament" which he illustrated from sculpture at Copan, Palenque and Yaxchilan in 11 examples. H. J. Spinden (1913, 68) further described its composition as including "shell, leaf and saltire symbols," which he associated with the "long-nosed God." Spinden also identified a corresponding glyph used at Palenque (Fig. 51), and he remarked on the connection of the 3-part symbol with two-headed dragons, with skybands, and with falling water. This glyph (T 272 : 546) appears four times (Fig. 51) on the circular stone markers of Ball Court II at Copan (Strömsvik, 1952, 195), where it is dated as of 9.11.0.0.0. The glyph below the floor line lacks the plant form of the versions at Palenque but such plants appear in the setting above for the figural scenes. Such intrusions, of part of an affix into the associated pictorial composition, open interesting possibilities for equating glyphs with pictorial conventions, as noted earlier (p. 6).

Eduard Seler (1915, 90), being eager to prove Mexican connections for the art of Palenque, called the symbol a "Dreiheit von Elementen" serving as an emblem of Quetzalcoatl. He believed that the central leaf unit resembled the Mexican trapeze-and-ray sign, all while noting its feathery or hairy texture, and he suggested a parallel to Mexican hair-bundle signs meaning 400. He identified the crossed bands as flame or fire signs, and he compared the seashell section to Mexican wind-god emblems. Elsewhere (1915, 96) Seler described the triadic symbol as "Haarschopf" (unit of hair) "Feuerstreifen" (fire-band) and "Rasselschmuck" (rattle ornament), composing what he thought was the emblem of Quetzalcoatl-Kukulean. From all this only his suggestion that the crossed bands relate to fire or flame can now be salvaged.

In an important cross-cultural study of Mesoamerican water symbolism, R. L. Rands (1955, 303) considered our triadic symbol as a "skullcap or triple symbol" from which there issues "a stream of falling water." In the same paper Rands suggests (1955, 319) that falling water representations and plant forms may be regarded as interchangeable.

Beatriz de la Fuente (1965, 113) recently summarized the state of the question as follows. The triadic symbol, composed of a leaf or feather, a shell, and a cartouche contain-

ing crossed bands and a flower, is thought to carry an aquatic meaning in relation to plant gods. The identification as leaf or feather is Seler's, and the watery association is Rands's. Neither is altogether correct, and the whole question deserves further review in the light of the entire repertory of examples of the form.

Position, composition and typology.

The triadic sign appears in one way or another at most major centers, but it occupies only three positions in classic Maya figural art. These positions can tell us something about the general meaning of the sign, and about the functions it served in classic Maya ritual. The three positions are 1) as costume and paraphernalia; 2) at the meeting of underground and above-earth regions; 3) on animal shapes having heads at both ends.

In all these positions, a skeletal long-nosed head bearing the *kin* sign in his forehead is associated with the triad. As a separate head, it appears as the back mask on stela H at Copan (Fig. 55), and at ground level beneath the "cross" in the Temple of the Cross at Palenque (Fig. 25). This head also serves as a handle for an instrument like a scepter, which represents either plants or columns of water, as at the Temple of the Cross (Figs. 54, 66, 67) and House D at Palenque (Fig. 33). It appears again as one of the heads on a stair ornament found near temple 11 at Copan (Fig. 65), and it is often seen as a helmet, worn without lower jaw, as on lintel 14 at Yaxchilan (Fig. 4) or on pier c of House A at Palenque (Fig. 32), and on stela I at Copan (Fig. 72). After 9.9.0.0.0, the sign frequently appears as a shellwork diadem (Fig. 85) without the long-nosed head or helmet.

In all these positions and varieties, the triad is composed of certain elements of which the positions and specific forms vary, but not the underlying three-part structure.

1. Spinden's saltire, also called St. Andrew's cross, is more simply labelled as "crossed bands" (Fig. 52a) by J. E. S. Thompson (1960, 107-8). As main grapheme T 552 (Thompson, 1962, 165), it enters compounds with sky (561), serpent segment (565), half-completion (173) and palm of hand (673). According to Thompson its phonetic value in Yucatec is *kaat*, signifying "something transverse or oblique." Grapheme 552 also appears in the glyphs for the months named *Uo* and *Zip* in Yucatec, whose Chol names in the Alta Verapaz are *ikcat* (black cross) and *chackat* (red cross). Digby (1952) connects crossed bands with corn. Thompson has identified T563, containing crossed bands among burning logs, as the sign for fire, corresponding to Yucatec *Kak* (1962, 186). In manuscripts the corresponding form is Z 1350 (Zimmerman 1956, 124) and it most commonly combines with a shell sign, Z 80, sometimes adjoining illustrations of copulation (E. Förstemann 1906, 101) as in Dresden 21b (Fig. 52b), and having many other associations as well.

2. The shell appears in two forms. In the codices it is usually Z 80, a long bead-like affix having a few short cross-strokes in its middle (Fig. 52c). In the inscriptions the shell is like a bivalve seen in plan and in profile, and it appears as a spoon-like dipper (T 38). In the triadic symbol, the spoon is its usual form, sometimes in profile, but more commonly in plan (Fig. 52c). Both in profile and in plan, this version is likely to have three dots. Thompson hesitantly identifies the three dots as a Maya fire symbol, standing for the three stones of the hearth (Thompson, 1960, 265), thereby connecting (Fig. 52d) with "serpent

segment" (T 565), "fire fist" (T 672) and "fire-drill" (T 589, Thompson, 1960, 79; Kelley, 1962, 40). The three dots and the "serpent segment" (T 589) coincide in the codices as Z 1369 (Fig. 52e), but it is to be remembered that neither the dots nor the serpent segment are more than nicknames for modern study.

3. The central shape of the triad is also a rare grapheme (T 212) which resembles a leaf, but it can also be read as a flame, (and less likely) a feather or a serpent segment (Fig. 52f). It appears in both frontal and profile versions. If we read it as "flame," the related form is T 122. As Thompson points out, 122 is an unequivocal glyphic image of flame, surrounded by the dotted aureole of heat, light or smoke (1960, 147, fig. 26, 8-14), which "closely resembles the conventionalized symbol for maize." Indeed the *Catalog* entry, T 122, "flame-affix," is indistinguishable from corn leaves (Fig. 52g).

The question at once arises, as it does so often in studies of Maya iconography, whether to modify the principle of one-to-one correspondences between form and meaning, in favor of the principle that multiple readings for each form are simultaneously possible. T 212 then could pass as needed under any guise among the readings flame/leaf/serpent-segment/feather. If so, one might be justified in looking for phonetic similarities among some of the Maya words for these images, in a still unrecovered classic elite Maya speech.

Meaning and function.

1. Although it is generally believed that an aquatic meaning attaches to the triad (Rands, 1955, 305), this connection finds no support from thorough review of the triadic signs carved during Classic Maya time. The only surely aquatic theme, with which the triad is associated (and only during late Classic decades), is a headdress emblem or badge composed of water-lily flowers upon which fish nibble (Fig. 83). This theme relates to another sector of Maya ritual, which also has the long-nosed head as its patron or regent. The long-nosed head often rules in the water over water plants (Fig. 33f), just as its regency over maize may pertain to soil and above-ground growth.

Long-nosed heads in Classic Maya images are not identical with much later Yucatec images of the Chacs, who were rain gods. Spinden's study (1913, 61-69) was mainly concerned with God B in the codices, and he showed its association with rain. But if God B is the Yucatec Chac, it still remains unproved that the several known varieties of classic Maya long-nosed head are representations of rain deities. The classic Maya long-nosed head with a skeletal lower jaw carries no necessary connection with rain, nor is it unmistakably a god. Furthermore, its regency, as at Palenque (Figs. 54, 39) governs growth and germination more than water as such. The evidence of the triadic sign gives meaning to the long-nosed head as animistic patron or regent of some kinds of vegetative life, rather than as an absolute and divine master of all watery phenomena.

It is difficult to find gods in classic Maya art. The rulers and priests wear emblems and carry signs, but they rarely if ever submit to godly authority. Bishop Landa reported about 1566 that idolatry was not practised among the Mayas prior to Quetzalcoatl's introduction of gods from Mexico (Tozzer, 1941, 22-3). Thompson (1939a, 127) and Morley (1946, 257) have insisted on the animistic character of Maya worship before the Toltec intrusion. Among venerable forms, Classic Maya representations show only instruments, cos-

tum jewelry, and emblems of office, but never a deity or a god as defined by an overwhelming numen receiving institutional worship. The Classic Maya cult was utilitarian and plural, given to maintaining natural and social order rather than to the satisfaction of transcendental drives as in Mexican religion.

2. It is my guess that the crossed bands and the shell with three dots in it may signify fire and fire-making (Fig. 54). Between them rises a corn-leaf or flame. If bands and shell be fire making signs, their association with corn plants may refer to the ancient Maya method of growing crops by slash-and-burn agriculture (also called milpa, swidden or *roza* farming: Palerm, 1967, 29) and to the Burner ritual described by R. C. E. Long (1923, 73-6), R. L. Roys (1933, 118), and Thompson (1960, 99-100). The activities of the Burners are fortunately described in various books of Chilam Balam as well as in the sixteenth-century history of Yucatan by Bishop Diego de Landa.

On certain days of the pre-Conquest ritual year in Yucatan, the four Burners attended in turn during a period of 65 days to different duties connected with the burning of the fields to get them ready for sowing. The first burner "took" the fire. Twenty days later the second burner "began" the fire. The third burner "gave scope" or spread the fire after twenty days more, and five days later the fire was put out (*Tup Kak*). Long observes, "the four Burners are, in some cases at least, associated with the Chacs who, as rain gods, put out the fires on the burning milpas in preparation for the sowing of the fields."

In Maya agriculture today, "a good burn still is essential to leave the soil clean and conditioned for the next crop" (O. F. Cook, 1919, 309). Steggerda (1941, 134-5) has described the anxiety of the moment of burning:

To burn or not to burn is uppermost in every milpero's mind. If he burns too soon the bush will burn badly because it is still damp. If he gambles a little too long, he is in danger of the coming rains which prevent burning entirely.

Today as in ancient times the burners must judge the weather at the end of the dry season in May in order to select a windy period (Redfield and Villa, 1934, 132) for burning the fields clean. The early rains then quench the fires and stimulate the growth of the seed planted in May. The corn harvest follows in August (O. F. Cook, 1919, 309; Lundell, 1933, 67; McBryde, 1947).

The ritual of the Burners may have had classic prototypes, because of the fundamental character of the operation of burning the fields in Mesoamerica, from a time long before the formative period in all the principal cultural regions. It reflects a division of duties along calendric lines designed to institutionalize the dangerous and hazardous decision about firing the fields. These rituals themselves are perhaps as old as swidden farming in Mesoamerica. In classic Maya time, they may well have become a prerogative of rulership, as the prevalence of the triadic sign in commemorative sculpture suggests. At Piedras Negras, the "ascension" reliefs, which Proskouriakoff (1960, 454-75) has connected with the inauguration of rulers, include the triadic sign (Figs. 58-60). At Copan and Palenque, the use of this symbol in a door frame with double-headed forms (Figs. 61-63) may have marked the chamber where ritual paraphernalia were stored, and where the Burner was attired.

A suitable model for future testing of these hypotheses might be the following. In the

courtly context of most Classic Maya art, the triad served as one of the insignia of rulership. Not all rulers wore it, but persons wearing the triad, including women and children, were either dynastic rulers or members of their families, whose functions may have included ceremonial burning, possibly as a hereditary office.

Contextual settings.

The following pages will describe the principal types of the classic Maya triadic sign according to the contexts in which it appears:

- I. Long-nosed ("God B") skeletal heads (Figs. 53-56).
 - a. in bicephalic animal contexts (Figs. 57-65).
 - b. as triad scepter (Figs. 66-69).
- II. Long-nosed helmets (Figs. 70-78).
 - a. long-nosed badges (Figs. 79-84).
- III. Shellwork diadems (Figs. 85-99).

Skeletal long-nosed heads

Tikal, cache vessel with lid (Early Classic). Fig. 53.

Palenque, Ruz tomb, sarcophagus lid (9.12.11.5.18) Fig. 39.

Palenque, Temple of the Cross, sanctuary tablet, central panel (9.14.10.0.0. ± 2) Fig. 54.

Copan, stela H, rear (9.16.0.0.0. ± 2) Fig. 55.

Yalloch, polychrome cylinder vase, University Museum, Philadelphia (Late Classic, Tepeu 3) Fig. 56.

These representations with the triadic sign all have a distinct ritual character, being related to ceremonies and paraphernalia more than to commemorative or historical purposes. The notable exception is the sarcophagus lid in the Ruz tomb, where the most splendid of all Maya burials displays a religious character more striking than its commemoration of a ruling person, especially in the iconography of death and rebirth on the lid (Fig. 39).

An early Classic pot found in a cache at Tikal (Coe 1965, 32) is a cylindrical planorelief vessel, with its lid (Fig. 53). The figure surrounding the vessel wall is a double-ended serpent held in the arms of an upward-looking human torso with hands raised back-to-back in the classic gesture of the Ceremonial Bar holders of Copan or Tikal. The double-ended serpent body ends in long jaws opened 90 degrees, with the upper torsos of old men emerging from their gullets. The two old men face each other across a skeletal profile head of the long-nosed variety. It has a *kin* sign in the cranium, and it wears the familiar triad flanked by spreading feathers. This triad differs from others by the substitution of the day-sign *cimi* (with its deadly associations) for the usual crossed bands.

In this respect the Tikal vase resembles the sarcophagus lid in the Ruz tomb at Palenque (9.12.11.5.18, Fuente, 1965, 168) where the skeletal head appears frontally in the U-shaped container framed by two sets of skeletal serpent jaws opened 90 degrees each. The triadic sign on the frontal head includes the *cimi* mark instead of crossed bands.

The Tikal vase and the Palenque sarcophagus lid thus share the same idea of a skeletal long-nosed head embraced by serpent jaws, and wearing a death sign in the triadic symbol. The Palenque lid confirms the symbolism of death on the Tikal vase, and both designs suggest that the triad with *cimi* instead of crossed bands is connected with sepulchral symbolism.

An opposite sense of life and growth is conveyed by the triadic sign with crossed bands in the headdress of the skeletal long-nosed head (Fig. 54) on the main tablet of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque (9.14.10.0.0.±2, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 192; Fuente, 1965, 168). The setting is above the sky-band, and from the triadic sign there rises a cruciform plant with a mythical bird perched in its topmost branch.

Essentially the same relationship appears on the rear side of Stela H at Copan (9.16.0.0.0.±2, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 188). The tree is cancelled, and the mythical bird, now shown frontally, rises directly from the triadic sign atop the skeletal head (Fig. 55). The association of triad and bird is far closer than at Palenque. At Copan the whole scheme is presented as a back-mask, attached to the rear costume of a frontal figure.

The Yaloch vase (Late Classic) from British Honduras may describe the same situation. As the mythical bird perches upon the long-nosed head of Stela H at Copan, so the bird here perches upon a back-mask which is cantilevered upon the body-belt of a human figure shown in the classic pose and as if dancing (Fig. 56). The context recalls the dancing figures in Room 3 at Bonampak (Fig. 7b), but the body belt of both principals can be read as a triadic sign with long-nosed head, crossed bands, and shell-glyph, balancing a plant form in the loin-cloth of one figure and on the inner hip of the other figure.

Bicephalic animals

The Leyden plate (8.14.3.1.12) Fig. 57.

Piedras Negras, stela 6 (DD 9.12.15.0.0; style date 9.13.10.0.0.±2) Fig. 58.

Piedras Negras, stela 11 (DD 9.15.0.0.0; style date 9.15.10.0.0.±2) Fig. 59.

Piedras Negras, stela 14 (DD 9.16.10.0.0; style date 9.15.10.0.0.±2) Fig. 60.

Palenque, House E, underground stairway (9.11.0.0.0—9.13.0.0.0) Fig. 61.

Palenque, House E, northeast chamber (9.11.0.0.0—9.13.0.0.0) Fig. 62.

Copan, structure 22, inner doorway (9.13.0.0.0—9.16.0.0.0) Fig. 63.

Yaxchilan, lintel 25 (9.14.11.15.1) Fig. 64.

Copan, structure 11, stair riser (9.17.10.0.0?) Fig. 65.

These forms all include the triadic sign, serving both commemorative purposes and the courtly ritual of rulership. Even the last item probably reflects some larger architectural program like those of Structure 22 and the doorway frames in the palace at Palenque.

An early example (8.14.3.1.12) is the ceremonial bar carried by the ruler figure on the Leyden plate (Fig. 57). Morley and Morley (1939, 17) ascribed it to the sphere of Tikal in the northern Central Peten. The serpent jaws at the left end frame a bearded long-nosed head. On the right side the jaws frame a head wearing a crossed band cartouche topped by flame-like tendrils. The cartouche has two axial knobs or projections suggestive of seashell outlines. These triadic elements reappear at the back of the headdress of the main figure, who wears double crossed bands upon a shell-like cartouche, beneath a

plant form resting upon a braided element. Crossed bands and shell motifs reappear on the loincloth. The belt, and one ankle, also bear crossed bands.

Proskouriakoff was first to propose that the niche figures at Piedras Negras (1960, 14), on Stelas 25, 33, 6 (Fig. 58), 11 (Fig. 59), 14 (Fig. 60), ranging between 9.8.15.0.0 (Stela 25) and 9.16.10.0.0? (Stela 14), record the "ascension" to power of named rulers. The niches of Stelas 6 (9.12.15.0.0), 14 (9.16.10.0.0) and 11 (9.15.0.0.0) have enframing sky bands, ending in pendant heads at the sides of the stela (Figs. 58, 59, 60). On the left is the head of a long-snouted reptile like an alligator or cayman with Venus signs in the eyes; on the right is the long-nosed skeletal head crowned with the triadic sign. The long-nosed head is upside down. Water/plant/fire-columns hang down from both heads, from the long jaws in the alligator head, and from the triadic sign on the long-nosed head.

"Ascension" doorways (Figs. 61-63), likewise carved or molded with sky-band surrounds which end at the left in an alligator head and on the right in a long-nosed head wearing the triadic sign have been recorded at Palenque (Seler, 1915, 84, 100; Fuente, 1965, 168, dates them between 9.11.0.0.0. and 9.13.0.0.0.), at two places in House E of the Palace, and at Copan (Structure 22, dated by Proskouriakoff, 1950, 188, between 9.13.0.0.0. and 9.16.0.0.0.).

One of the two stucco examples at Palenque is in an underground stairway (Fig. 61) leading up into the southwest chamber of House E (Seler, 1915, 100). On the right, only the inverted feather/flame element and the *kin* cartouche survive. On the left is a snout-like shape ending at the base as a stone knife. Higher up are heart-shaped bony joint signs and flames/claws. Between them a *kin*-cartouche stands upon the center of a serpent-body with ventral scales.

The other royal doorway is on three walls of the northeast chamber of House E (Fig. 62): from a frontal bird's head six sky signs spread to both sides, ending in the same heads as at Piedras Negras, with downward streaming water/plant/fire columns, coming from an alligator head on the left, and from a long-nosed skeletal head on the right. These doorways were perhaps used in a ritual of enthronement which is more graphically represented later on at Piedras Negras (p. 11).

The most elaborate of these royal portals faces south on East Court at Copan (Fig. 63). It surrounds the inner door of Structure 22 (Trik, 1939, Fig. 5). By Proskouriakoff's stylistic traits, the carving belongs to the period 9.13.0.0.0-9.16.0.0.0 (Proskouriakoff, 1950, 188). As at Palenque in House E, the long-nosed head with the triad is on the east jamb, and the crocodile with Venus-signs is on the west. These heads are connected by S-scrolls of serpent segments spanning the lintel and they rest upon human supporters who crouch upon jawless skulls. The buttocks of these Atlanteans are carved as long-nosed heads facing away from the entrance.

A possible allusion to the royal doorway and two-headed animal scheme occurs in the headdress (Fig. 64) of the lady on Lintel 25 at Yaxchilan (9.14.11.15.1, Proskouriakoff, 1963). The headband resembles the ventral scales of a serpent, which ends on her right as a skeletal long-nosed head with a crossed-band cartouche at the ear. Our triadic sign is clearly marked. The cranium, which resembles a shell, has three dots as upon the triad shell-sign, and a damaged form resembling a plant or leaf emerges from the palate. On her temple is the skeletal alligator head as on the royal doorways at Copan and Palenque, and on

the ascension niches of Piedras Negras. The same headdress reappears once more held by the kneeling lady in her right hand, like a crown. Thus she wears it and she holds it.

About sixty years later, another two-headed animal at Copan is the relief sculpture on a stair-riser from Structure 11 (9.17.10.0.0? Proskouriakoff, 1950). The left head is the alligator head, but with open jaws framing a youthful human profile face. Its body has front and rear legs facing left, and at the tail on the right is the familiar long-nosed skeletal head bearing the triad (Fig. 65).

Triad scepters

Palenque, Temple of the Cross, left jamb of sanctuary entrance (before 9.13.0.0.0)

Fig. 66.

Palenque, Temple of the Cross, sanctuary tablet, left hand panel (before 9.13.0.0.0)

Fig. 67.

Palenque, Palace, House D, pier c (9.16.0.0.0±2) Fig. 68.

Seibal, Stela 10 (10.0.10.0.0±2) Fig. 69.

Rands (1955) included among water motifs in Mesoamerican art three examples of the triadic sign at Palenque. Two are held pointing down like florid batons in the hands of courtly priests (Figs. 66, 67) on the reliefs inside the Temple of the Cross (Fuente, 1965, 168: before 9.13.0.0.0). Another example (Fig. 68) appears in the stucco relief panel on pier c of the façade of House D at the Palace (Fuente, 1965, 169: 9.16.0.0.0±2). Here the foliated plant is carried upright, with the long-nosed head resting in the crook of the elbow of a standing personage.

Two different kinds of scepter are represented here. The priests at the Temple of the Cross both carry inverted maize effigies which represent the young leafy plant. Their attentions are directed at the large cruciform effigy of a tasseled plant bearing stylized rows of grains arranged like teeth upon the mandibles of geometric serpent heads at the finials of the cross. This same cruciform figure of the tasseled corn plant recurs upon the lid of the sarcophagus of the tomb in the Temple of Inscriptions (Fig. 39), where it rises from the triadic sign upon a frontal long-nosed head (see p. 27).

The scepter born by the stucco figure in House D is like a portable version of the imposing plant shown in the sanctuary of the Temple of the Cross. This image (Fig. 54) reappears in the context of death and the renewal of vegetation on the sarcophagus lid (Fig. 39). The Temple of the Sun and the sarcophagus both were carved before 9.13.0.0.0 (Fuente, 1965, 168). The Palace stucco (Fig. 68) was made at least a generation later (9.16.0.0.0±2).

The leafy-corn scepter reappears once more at Seibal (Fig. 69) on Stela 10 (Proskouriakoff, 1950, 168: 10.0.10.0.0±2), hanging from the ceremonial bar. As at the Temple of the Sun, the scepter is inverted, and it consists of the long-nosed head, the triad, and a young maize plant.

Long-nosed helmets

Tikal, stela 29 (8.12.14.8.15) Fig. 70.

Tikal, stela 31 (before 9.5.0.0.0) Fig. 71.

Copan, stela I (9.10.0.0.0±2) Fig. 72.

Palenque, Ruz tomb, stucco wall figures (9.10.0.0.0±2) Fig. 41.
 Palenque, House C, stucco panel on façade (9.12.0.0.0±2) Fig. 34.
 Palenque, Temple of Foliated Cross, stone slab (before 9.16.0.0.0). Fig. 73.
 Calakmul, stela 28 (9.11.0.0.0+?). Fig. 74.
 Calakmul, stela 9 (9.13.0.0.0+?) Fig. 75.
 Tikal, Temple II, lintel 2 (9.15.0.0.0=3) Fig. 76.
 Yaxchilan, lintel 14 (DD 9.15.10.0.0) Fig. 77.
 Palenque, House A, pier c (9.14.10.0.0±2) Fig. 78.

The long-nosed figure, with its associations of plant germination and growth, usually served to enrich the headdress of the ruler. Its early appearance was perhaps as a sky spirit hovering over the ruler until the end of the Early Classic period, and its use as a ruler-helmet faded away not long after 9.16.0.0.0.

Two stelas (29, 31) of early date at Tikal (Figs. 70, 71) have at the top a helmeted head peering down upon the scene as if from the sky. (Stela 31 may be a tardy copy of stela 29). The rarity of this convention in Early Classic Maya sculpture leads to the assumption that its meaning is the same on both stones. Stela 29 reads 8.12.14.8.15 by the earliest Initial Series dedicatory date now known (Shook, 1960, 32). The topmost sky figure, like the rest of the carving on this fragmentary stela, shows no surface details beyond the general composition, but a long-nosed helmet surmounted by a plant-like crest is clearly visible (Fig. 70). The supposition that the detail of the carving originally represented a triadic sign of crossed bands, shell, and plant, is reinforced by the appearance of a similar sky figure peering down upon the scene shown on stela 31 at Tikal (Fig. 71).

Carved before 9.5.0.0.0 (Coe, 1962, 490), stela 31 lacks triadic signs on the principal figure, but a clear reference appears in the helmeted head and torso floating in the sky above the ruler. This sky figure wears a long-nosed helmet with the crossed bands showing in the eye. The nose is a shell form, marked with the three dots characteristic of fire-drilling shells in this context. Above the helmet rises a three-part plant/flame device (Fig. 71).

About a century later the long-nosed helmet form reappears at Copan (Fig. 72), but it no longer hovers in the sky, being worn on stela I (9.10.0.0.0±2), Proskouriakoff, 1950, 188) by the principal figure as his only headdress, which is surmounted by a huge triad spanning the full width of the stone. The crossed bands reappear throughout the costume, as in the ear ornaments, where the bands occupy the mouth position beneath a long-nosed upper jaw; on anklets and wristlets, where the bands form the headdress of the long-nosed mask; and on the pleats of the jaguar-skin kilt.

A similar profusion of crossed bands in costume appears among the stucco figures (Fig. 41) in the Ruz tomb at Palenque. These have been assigned to about the same period as stela I at Copan (Fuente, 1965, 168). One of the enthroned figures in stucco (Fig. 34) in the façade piers of House C (9.12.0.0.0±2, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 192) wears a similar long-nosed helmet as a badge in his feather-and-jaguar-tail headdress. The badge has crossed bands beneath the long-nosed mask, which carries an upright shell seen in profile. Also comparable are the ear-ornaments on the stone slab (Fig. 73) from the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque (Ruz, 1958, 91, dated before 9.16.0.0.0 by Fuente, 1965), where crossed bands take the mouth position under long-nosed elements, flanking the square spool. Crossed

bands on a long-nosed helmet appear on stela 28 (Fig. 74) at Calakmul (Ruppert and Denison, 1943, pl. 49) dated $9.11.0.0.0 \pm 2$ by Proskouriakoff (1950, 185), and as anklets on stela 9 (dated $9.13.0.0.0 \pm 2$ Proskouriakoff, *ibid.*), illustrated in Fig. 75.

Nine stucco figures (dated before $9.11.14.0.0$, Fuente, 1965, 168) lining the tomb chamber of the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque (Fig. 41) wear crossed bands on their forearms or legs, as well as on their belts, over their mouths, and in their headdresses. All the headdresses have several tiers, beginning with a bird helmet. Above the helmet is a crossed-bands element, surmounted by either a diminutive human face or a long-nosed visage wearing the shellwork helmet beneath an uppermost element of crossed bands. The plant/flame element appears as finial over the bird helmet on at least five of the figures. We said earlier that a close parallel to these figures appears on stela I (Fig. 72) at Copan, (style date $9.10.0.0.0 \pm 2$, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 188), where the triadic sign has great importance, being reinforced by crossed bands in the headdress, as well as on the wrists, ankles and kilt. At Palenque, however, the bird-helmet may correspond to the connection between the long-nosed head and a bird figure seen on stela H at Copan (Fig. 55). Other examples of that multiplication of badges and cult-emblems begin to burden the headdress of Maya sculpture about now.

At Tikal, lintel 2 (Fig. 76) from Temple II ($9.15.0.0.0 \pm 3$, Coe, Shook and Satterthwaite, 1961, 51) displays a woman carved in wood and shown in profile, wearing an imposing triad. It is conjoined with another badge of water-lily type. The costume and stance are repeated on the left hand figure of lintel 14 at Yaxchilan (Fig. 77). Water-lily elements are present in the headdress along with the triad, as at Tikal. The dedicatory date of $9.15.10.0.0 \pm 3$ makes it possible that the same person is represented, although Proskouriakoff assigns $10.0.10.0.0 \pm 2$ as the date of carving (1950, 199).

Another woman wearing the triad upon a long-nosed helmet appears at Palenque (Fig. 78) in the stucco panel on pier c at House A ($9.14.10.0.0 \pm 2$, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 192). She is seated behind a man who wears the water-lily badge on his head and the crossed-band wrappings on his legs. By date and by costume attributes, then, these three reliefs may represent the same woman, whose rank is shown as highest on lintel 2 of Temple II at Tikal (Fig. 76).

Long-nosed badges

- Yaxchilan, lintel 2 ($9.19.0.0.0 \pm 2$) Fig. 78.
- Yaxchilan, lintel 3 ($9.19.0.0.0 \pm 2$) Fig. 80.
- Aguateca, stela 7 (DD $9.18.0.0.0$) Fig. 81.
- Machaquila, stela 4 (DD $9.19.10.0.0$) Fig. 82.
- Machaquila, stela 7 (DD $10.0.0.0.0$) Fig. 83.
- Seibal, stela 11 ($10.0.10.0.0 \pm 2$) Fig. 84.

In general, long-nosed badges occur after the disappearance of the long-nosed helmets. The triadic sign therefore usually appears in late Classic commemorative sculpture as a badge together with other badges; such as fish nibbling flower, spiral serpent, or fire-drill. These badges may signify lineages or duties or honors, and each may of course be the bearer of several meanings. Their multiplication is characteristic not only of late Classic sculpture,

but also of very early monuments, such as stelas 1, 2, and 3 at Tikal, where many insignia were heaped upon the ruler's head and on other heads among his regalia.

The late proliferation of badges seems to have required that each of them take up less space and that all conform more closely to the requirements of costume than to their earlier character as glyphs. This probably began earlier at Palenque than elsewhere, because of the local preference for visual fidelity. Other places, like Seibal or Machaquila, might permit a forcing of visual probability, but Palenque early preferred plausible and harmonious images to overloaded and top-heavy ones, as it also preferred attractive costume designs to discordant glyphic intrusions.

On lintel 2 (Fig. 79) at Yaxchilan (9.19.0.0.0±2, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 199) the ruler wears several badges. The topmost one surmounts a high crown having vestigial features of the long-nosed helmet, and it has the shell at the rear, behind a central head. A forward shell contains crossed bands.

On lintel 3 (Fig. 80), also at Structure 33, and of the same date, the ruler wears a tall spiral serpent crown, surmounted by the shell with inset crossed bands. He looks toward a lesser profile figure wearing a long-nosed helmet. Its nose is a shell, and crossed bands hang from his wrist instead of being in the shell or close to it. The effect is of some change or loosening in the old triadic sign, and its replacement by the headdress badge of the principal figure.

Stela 7 (Fig. 81) at Aguateca (Graham, 1967, 26) shows a ruler standing upon a throne. The headdress is nearly as tall as he, rising in four stages. The headband bears a long-nosed profile with a shell hat and crossed bands. Above it are birds in flight among plants. The third stage resembles a fire drill flanked by curls of smoke or flame, and above it all a frontal sun face upon a shield of feathers completes the towering structure. The anklets are long-nosed heads with crossed bands in their mouths (cf. stela 9, Calakmul, Fig. 75), and fish nibbling plants in their headdresses.

This compound of fish nibbling plants with the long-nosed head reappears in the headdress of the ruler on stela 4 (Fig. 82) at Machaquila (Graham, 1967, 66; dedicatory date, 9.19.10.0.0), together with a jaguar-tail and a creature resembling a seahorse. The same system towers above the figure on stela 7 (Fig. 83) at Machaquila (Graham, 1967, dedicatory date 10.0.0.0.0), as well as upon stela 11 (Fig. 84) at Seibal (Proskouriakoff, 1950, style date 10.0.10.0.0±2). In all these designs, the ranking badge appears to be the small profile plaque, probably of jade, represented as worn in the forehead, and showing the long-nosed god wearing a shell hat with crossed bands.

Shellwork diadems

a. Commemorative figures:

Balancan-Morales, stela 4 (9.11.3.5.14) Fig. 85.

(Palenque?) Dumbarton Oaks stone panel (9.11.0.0.0; carved *ca.* 9.15.0.0.0) Fig. 86.

Usumacinta style ball-court marker fragment (9.15.0.0.0?) Fig. 87.

Copan, Altar Q (9.14.10.0.0±2) Fig. 88.

Copan, temple 11, step (9.16.0.0.0–9.19.0.0.0) Fig. 89.

Yaxchilan, stela 11 (9.17.0.0.0±2) Fig. 90.

b. ritual scenes:

- Tikal, engraved bone from Burial 116 in Temple I (9.13.0.0.0?) Fig. 91.
- Quirigua, zoömorph P (9.17.10.0.0±2) Fig. 92.
- Palenque, Palace, "Creation" relief (9.17.13.0.0) Fig. 93.
- Palenque, Palace, southwest court relief (before 9.17.0.0.0) Fig. 94.
- Bonampak, Structure 1, room 1, top registers (9.17.0.0.0±2) Fig. 95.
- Chipoc, polychrome plate (Late Classic) Fig. 96.
- Motagua valley, polychrome bowl (Late Classic) Fig. 97.
- Dresden 46a (post-Classic) Fig. 98.
- Madrid 70b (post-Classic) Fig. 99.

The surprising number of late Classic ritual scenes and figures in this group justifies the separation of the earlier commemorative sculptures.

A headdress made of shell finials and fitting over the skull upon a shell frame to which shell earpieces may be attached often bears the triad sign of crossed bands, leaf/plant and shell-plate, and the type appears to originate at Palenque, as we have seen in the tomb wall stuccoes (Fig. 41). In the fully developed diadem the crossed bands are set within the shell, which becomes the cartouche. The plant or flame form is less prominent, becoming part of the headdress itself, or vanishing from the scene.

An early example of the fully developed shell helmet, conforming to the triadic sign pattern, appears on stela 4 (Fig. 85) at Balancan-Morales (Tabasco). The I.S. date is 9.11.3.5.14; Proskouriakoff's style date is fixed between 9.10.0.0.0 and 9.15.0.0.0 (Lizardi Ramos, 1961, 121). The figure stands upon a band inscribed with *caban* day signs meaning earth, and related to the RE glyph of Teotihuacan iconography. In the ornate headdress are representations of both leafy and tasseled corn varieties, as well as a long-nosed head appearing as a badge.

Another instance of the same period at Dumbarton Oaks (Fig. 86) probably comes from Palenque or its vicinity. A standing figure, who carries a bag and a flint blade, wears a shell headdress covering his ears with shells, rising to a shell finial containing crossed bands, and shelving to the rear in a corn-plant leaf. Between the corn plant and the shell is a spray of feathers.

A stone relief (Fig. 87) shown in Paris recently (Franco, 1966, pl. 14) is presumably on the market. It shows a ball-player wearing a shell-work helmet of the same construction and style as the relief at Dumbarton Oaks. The ball-court iconography it shares with Fig. 51 supports the thesis of identity between the traditional triadic sign and the shellwork diadem.

At Copan, two figures wearing shellwork diadems are shown on Altar Q (Fig. 88) and on the step of temple 11 (Fig. 89). In both instances they are associated with the date 6 *caban* 10 mol. On the altar the two figures are principals shown in conference attended by fourteen other personages. The left hand figure wears goggles and carries (according to Maudslay I, 60) a torch. A quetzal bird appears perched in his headdress behind the shell finial. The right side figures may also carry a small torch. Similar headdresses are worn by adjoining figures on the step of temple 11, and it is possible that they represent the same historical personages as on Altar Q. This combination of bird and goggles recalls Teotihuacan associations (Kubler, 1968) of dynastic emblems with rain symbols.

At Yaxchilan (Fig. 90) the ruler figure on stela 11 (9.17.0.0.0±2, Proskouriakoff, 1950, 198) wears a similar shellwork helmet, and he holds over his face a sun-mask, equivalent to the kin sign. As Proskouriakoff pointed out in a letter, this is "the best argument for identifying the shell-diadem with the sun-triadic sign glyph." The ruler brandishes the manikin scepter over the heads of three kneeling and roped captives. His headdress has shells over the ears. A profile shell containing crossed bands rises over the forehead. The customary plant/flame form sprouts from the base of the helmet. On his loincloth the crossed bands and flat shell are repeated within a border lined by tasseled-corn leaves and grains, as at the Temple of the Cross in Palenque (Fig. 54).

Similar shellwork diadems also appear upon non-historical figures, like the boatmen engraved on bone from Temple I at Tikal (Fig. 91). These are thought to have been made about 800 A.D. The boatmen's status as transcendental persons is suggested by their mask-like heads and by the shell glyphs marking their limbs.

In the manuscripts, this affix (Zimmermann 80) probably means "spirit," or "divine" because it is associated nearly always with the glyphs of the "gods" or spirits (Zimmermann, 1956, 156). Thompson (1960, 269) ascribed to it the Yucatec sound *il*, signifying generality, or sometimes the quality of an adjective. Body-shell designs (Fig. 52c) often appear upon the thighs or forearms of the manikin-scepter figure, as at Palenque in the sanctuary tablet at the Temple of the Sun (Fig. 26) and at Kaminaljuyu (Kidder, Shook and Jennings, 1946, figs. 204b; 205 c, d; 207e).

Thus shells on the limbs of human figures may signify other-worldly or spirit nature. At Tikal, the engraved boatmen and fishermen also wear the shellwork diadem. It resembles a large shell circlet fitting over the skull of the long-nosed figure (Schellhas' God B; Anders, 1963, 268). A finial of shell rises from the forehead, arching out over the face like a sun-shade and containing the crossed bands. A maize plant rises from the volute over the ear, and the ear itself is covered by a flat shell with the three firedrill marks.

Among several figures on Zoömorph P (Fig. 92) at Quirigua (9.17.10.0.0±2), which appear to be upturned vessels, is an animal identified by Rands (1955, 312) as a "rodent-like or unspotted feline (?) animal." It is shown in profile wearing a shellwork headdress. The front cusp contains crossed bands; behind it is the shell, and between them rises a spiral flame or plant. The supposed fluid emptied from the vessel resembles flamboyant tendrils spreading laterally as well as down.

Closely similar and of about the same date is an incised relief (Fig. 93) at Palenque from the Palace (Fuente 1965, pl. 54; 9.17.13.0.0). Over the ear is a shell; a finial rises from the brow with crossed bands, and between these is a curled form above which there rises an ear of corn.

Another version of about the same period (Fig. 94) was discovered by Ruz in the southwest Palace court (Ruz, 1952a, p. 58; Fuente, 1965, places it before 9.17.0.0.0). A long-nosed head wears the shellwork headdress with crossed bands. Flame-like tendrils and flowers surround the head. The scheme reappears in the top vault register at Bonampak (Fig. 95) in Room 1 (Proskouriakoff, 1950, 185; 9.17.10.0.0±2). On both sides of the narrow capstone are painted long-nosed heads. Each wall has a frontal head flanked by profile heads wearing the shell headdress inscribed with crossed bands, and surrounded by tendrils of flame and blossoms. The position of this head at Bonampak clearly marks its sky character.

The triadic sign is rare in pottery painting. Examples occur from Chipoc (Fig. 96) and from the Motagua valley (Fig. 97), both of Tepeu 3 (Late Classic) date. The Chipoc plate shows a bowing male figure wearing large dark spots of body paint and a diadem with crossed bands (Fig. 96). The seated figure painted on the Motagua valley bowl also wears a diadem of shell, crossed bands, and blossom, and his body is marked with large dark, round patches (Fig. 97). He carries a little axe in his left hand, and flames erupt from his right elbow. He sits behind another spotted figure wearing the fish-and-blossom headdress. Thus the body spots are shared by different figures. The body flames and the little axe reappear on a third figure wearing a jaguar helmet, so that they also lack restriction to the wearers of the triadic sign.

Dresden 46a (Fig. 98) shows an old man seated upon a sky-band, holding a vessel marked with crossed bands, and wearing a shellwork headdress of the type we have been discussing. The shell finial is treated as a mandible, and the crossed bands are its eye. We have already examined instances in which the long-nosed proboscis was treated as a shell: here the shell becomes an upper jaw as of a helmet. A similar headdress appears in Codex Madrid 70b, worn by a dead person seated upon a turtle (Fig. 99).

Summary

In groups I and II the sign always appears as part of the head-dress of a long-nosed head or helmet device. The long-nosed mask may be "a form equivalent to a determinative in writing," (i.e. setting the kind of discourse), as suggested in a letter by Proskouriakoff. Certainly it cannot be taken as a god or the head of a god on present evidence (cf. p. 29). In group III the sign itself becomes the whole headdress, beginning about 9.9.0.0.0. Groups I and II probably antedate Early Classic times, continuing until near the end of the Initial Series period. Group III may continue into the post-Classic era until at least the period of the codices after 1000 A.D. On the whole, however, the triadic sign is closely connected only with classic Maya sculpture of the Initial Series period. It appears mostly among the accoutrements of ruler figures and in ritual architecture of major importance, claimed here as a widespread and long-lived burner symbol pertaining to the most ancient agricultural rituals and customs of Maya civilization. The supporting evidence brought together here is far from satisfactory, and other explanations, especially ones relating to lineage, are possible. But any other explanation must account for the recurring association of the triadic sign with representations of corn plants and corn leaves.

VI CONCLUSION

The concept of a classic epoch in ancient American cultural history is no older than the neo-evolutionary developmental schemes imposed about 1950 upon the entire fabric of American antiquity. The designation as "classic" for events roughly between 200 B.C. and A.D. 800 quickly found universal acceptance. Its general use testifies not alone to the convenience of the idea, but also to the plausibility of a parallel with the ancient Medi-

ranean. Here as there, an era of unprecedented attainments gave way to a medieval age which began with disintegrating societies and a transcendent ethos, when old forms were filled with new meanings, and old meanings were clad in new forms.

The differences between classic Maya and post-classic Maya history are fundamental. They are differences in the structure of religious belief, such as between spirits and deities, or between the veneration of natural phenomena and the adoration of anthropomorphized gods. The differences are also in the social structure, as between priestly government, and rule by warrior societies.

In respect to the history of Maya sculpture, an early Egyptianizing distinction between old and new Maya "Empires" (Spinden 1913) was finally abandoned about 1950 in favor of less universal terms. "Initial Series" and "Mexican Period" were adopted by Thompson (1950). "Classic" and "Toltec Maya" styles were preferred by Proskouriakoff (1950). She used the term, Classic, to signify only the coherence of a "focus around which material can be tentatively arranged." She thought of it less as a "clearly defined entity" than as a classificatory idea. She also stated that she was then unable to give a more precise definition of the Classic Maya style "without study of the objects it portrays, of its ideational subjects—scenes, symbols, abstractions," and their relation to the totality of Maya culture.

Ten years later, Proskouriakoff was able to claim epigraphic proofs for a historical interpretation of the sculpture at many classic Maya sites (1960, 1963, 1964). Having preferred first a history of stylistic development (1950) she then brought out a theory of the historicity of much Maya sculpture. Using her prolegomena, I have tried in these pages to outline a possible method for studying the content of Classic Maya art—what it portrays and what are its "ideational subjects."

Proskouriakoff has herself objected (1950, 182) to treating art as an independent process of development, when it "cannot be fully understood except in its total cultural context." Certainly a history of style always needs a history of content, but when both are available, have we met this objection?

To begin with, it can be countered that the statement is reversible: cultural totalities cannot be understood independently of the corresponding artifacts. Indeed many cultures are revealed to us only by artifacts, of which the meaning requires iconographic study.

Exegetical precautions.

The peculiar conditions under which classic Maya iconography is studied deprive the student of reliable texts other than a few dimly apprehended glyptic clauses. The enterprise therefore differs greatly from similar operations in the Old World. The underlying principles needed for the exegesis of New World motifs, themes, and symbols still are poorly understood, but the following approximations are offered as working hypotheses:

1. The development of iconographic forms cannot be known before their structure is apparent. It is necessary to know the context in which an item is meaningful before we can trace its history. In historical method, the study of what an image means precedes study of the changes it undergoes.

2. Structural relationships among meanings can be more easily deduced from late examples than from early ones. In early works, the systematic connections are more latent than in terminal expressions. On the other hand, the elliptical character of late expressions is compensated by their thematic variety. For example, the Sistine Chapel tells more about

the whole scope of Christian art than the rude wall paintings in early catacombs. By the same token the Bonampak murals tell more than all Tzakol painting, and not only because of their better preservation, but also because of their improved articulation as scenes.

3. Lacking texts, and granting the assumption that complete articulation is a late phenomenon, we are justified in using late works to explain early ones (unless an early expression is manifestly clearer than a late and elliptic one). This procedure reverses the usual iconographer's habit, of determining the earliest statement of a motif or theme, before tracing out its iconodrome. This customary procedure is possible only with the aid of abundant texts completely understood.

4. Figural systems having durations on the order of a millennium are independent configurations owing their identity to definable symbolic values. Christian symbols thus differ from Moslem symbols and from Greco-Roman symbols. In ancient America, the evolutionary nomenclature now in use separates formative, classic, and post-classic periods. Their figural systems and iconographic repertoires occupy a time-scale not unlike that of Europe and its Mediterranean forerunners.

5. However lucid they may be, foreign texts of late date should not be forced to explain matter beyond their own scope without painstaking calibrations. When Thomas Aquinas explained Aristotle, he explained his own mind more than the Stagyrite's. When Sahagun codified the reports of many Aztec informants, they were then no more concerned with classic Maya life than St. Thomas was with pharaonic Egypt.

6. Successor systems inherit only what they want and the rest is abandoned. But where the bond was close, as between medieval Europe and classical antiquity, more matter survived, to be more transformed, then in a pre-literate Mesoamerica. The rule of disjunction may therefore vary with literacy, being strongest in a tightly bonded historical continuum of texts and records. Fewer meanings and fewer forms survived from the remote past when literacy nearly vanished in post-classic, retribalized society. The supposition that groundswells of ancient form or meaning continued undiminished and unchanged from Olmec time to Aztec resembles the doctrines of Rosicrucianism.

Language and iconography.

The iconographic configuration of a people is not merely an aspect of its language. A language is temporal and auditory, but an iconography is spatial and visual. An utterance is ephemeral, but an object is durable. Like language, however, iconography conveys conventional or agreed meanings. Languages are unintelligible until learned, but some iconographies are in part accessible to everyone, by being visible, repetitions, and consistent.

Like languages, iconographic systems are continuously changing continuities. They are also shifting agreements keeping to a recognizable contour. But a systematic rupture in iconographic continuity bespeaks cultural rupture. If we can determine one of these, we know that the other is involved. Here cultural knowledge can be epiphenomenal to iconographic knowledge, and it is here that we can escape the methodological impasse outlined by Proskouriakoff. In this sense iconographic study may be our most direct single path to an immediate apprehension of the totality of the culture of any group, because iconography concerns intended meanings and their changes through time and space.

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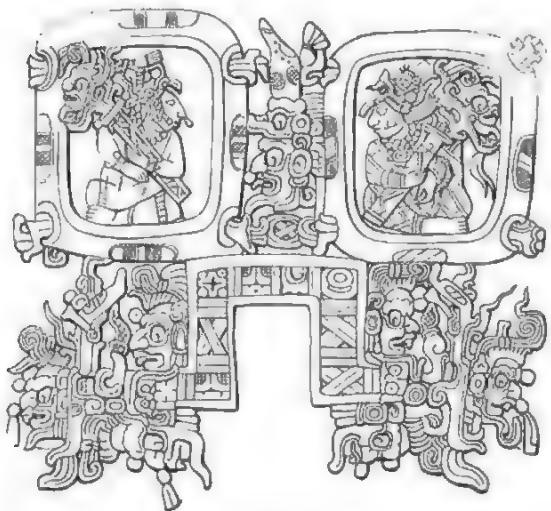


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Fig. 3. Yaxchilán, lintel 24 (after Spinden, 1957, pl. LIX)



Fig. 2. Yaxchilán, lintel 32 (after Maler, 1903, pl. LXII)

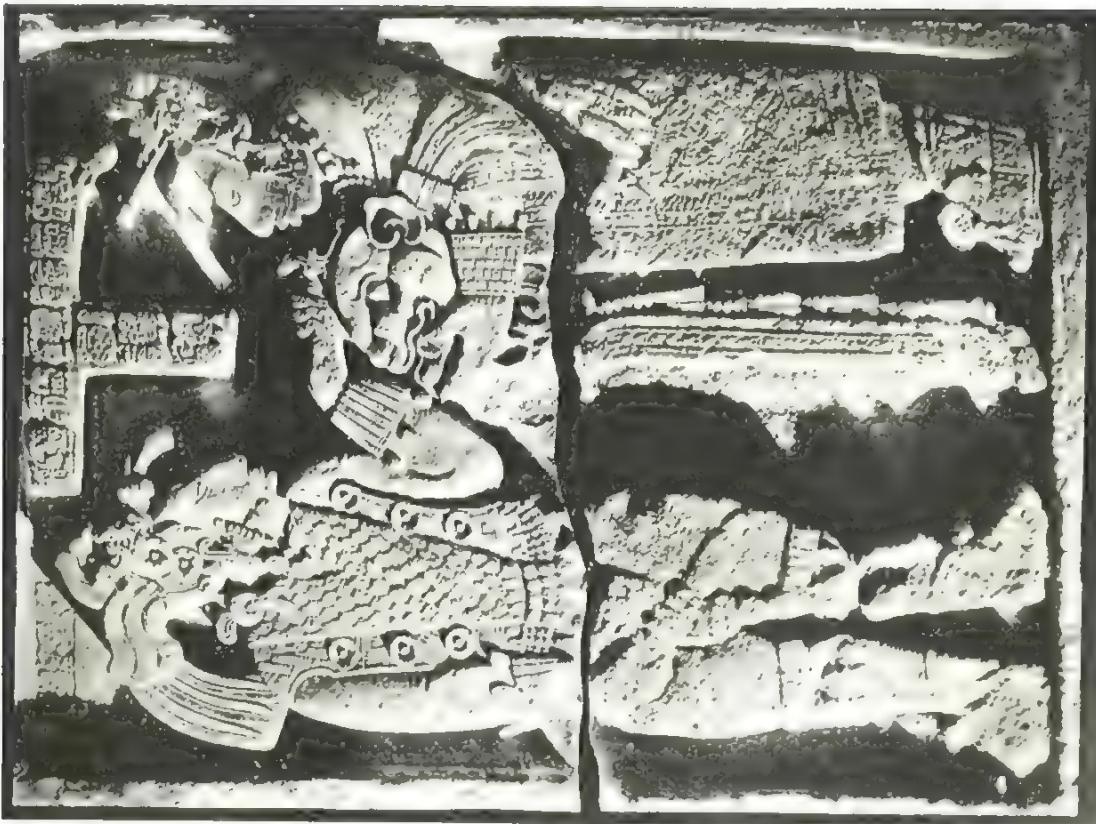


Fig. 5. Yaxchilán, lintel 26 (after Maler, 1903, pl. LVII)



Fig. 4. Yaxchilán, lintel 14 (after Maler, 1903, pl. LV)



Fig. 6a. Bonampak, structure 1, room 1, mural showing presentation of an infant (after Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955)

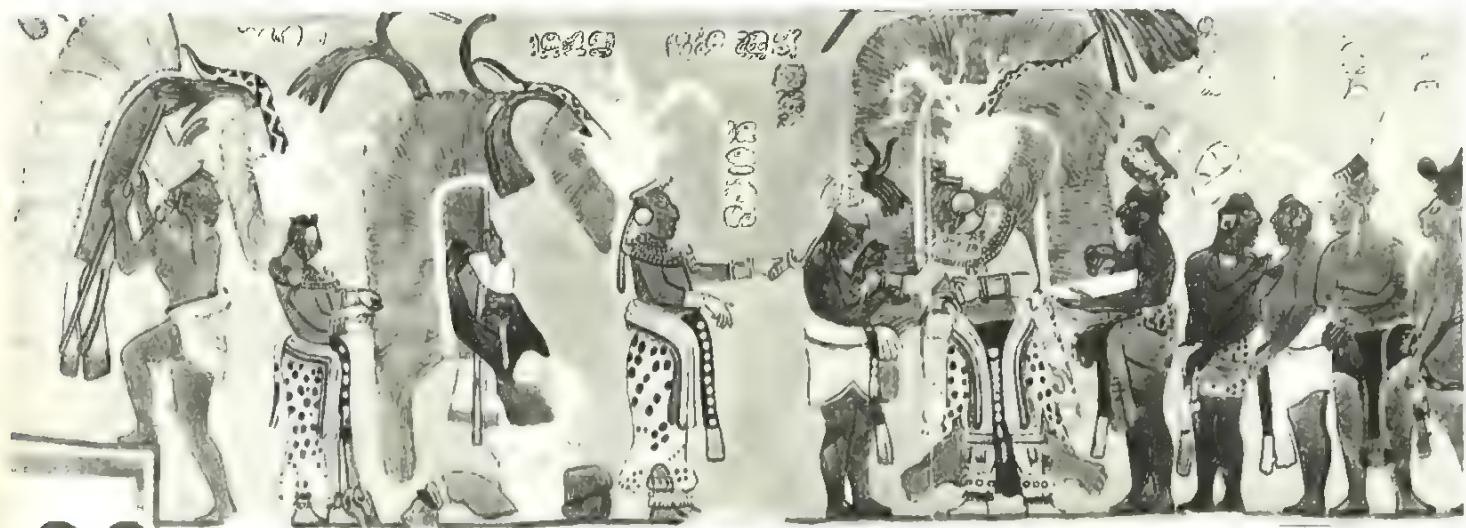


Fig. 6b. Bonampak, structure 1, room, mural showing robing scene (after Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955)



Fig. 7a. Bonampak, room 2, battle scene (after Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955)

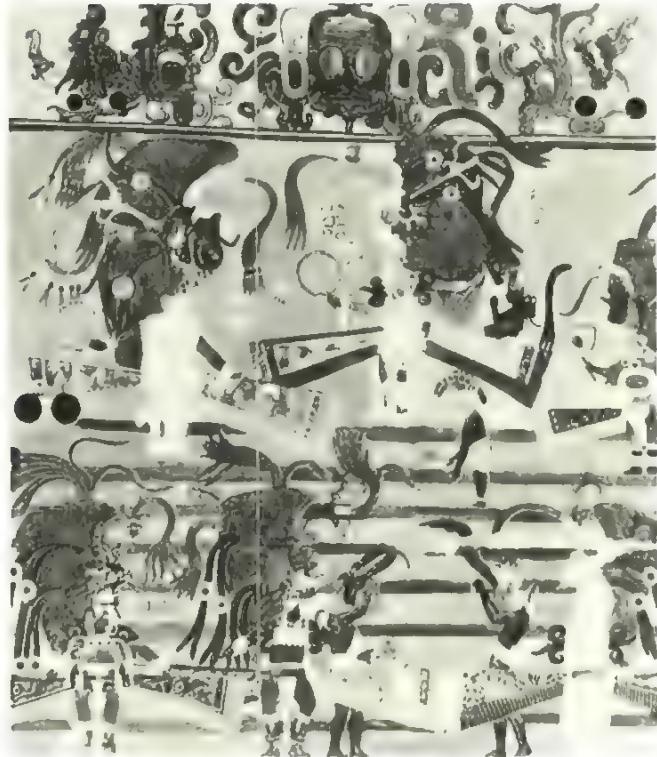


Fig. 7b. Bonampak, room 3, costumed dancers (after Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955)

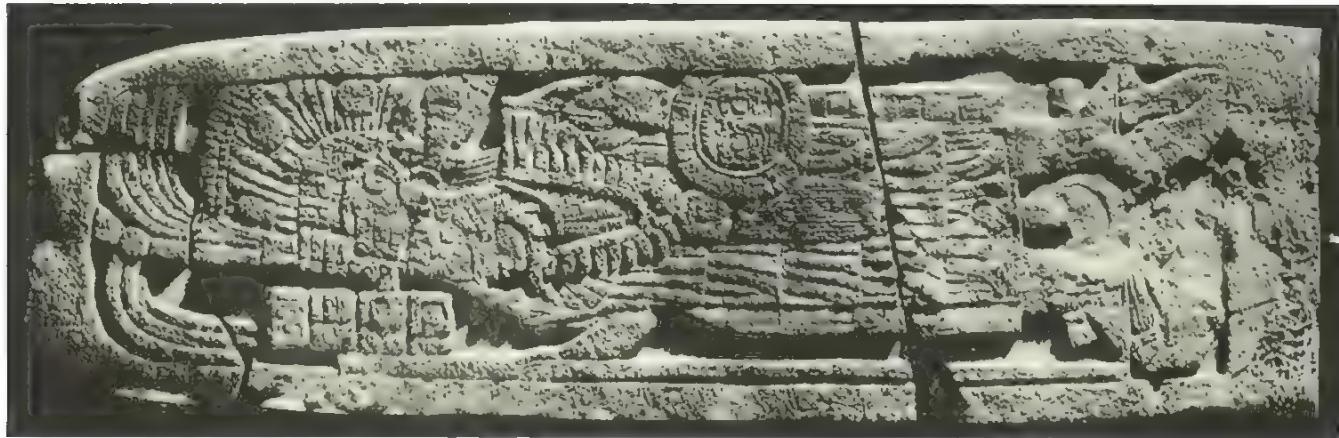


Fig. 9. Naranjo, stela 11 (after Maler, 1908, pl. 30)

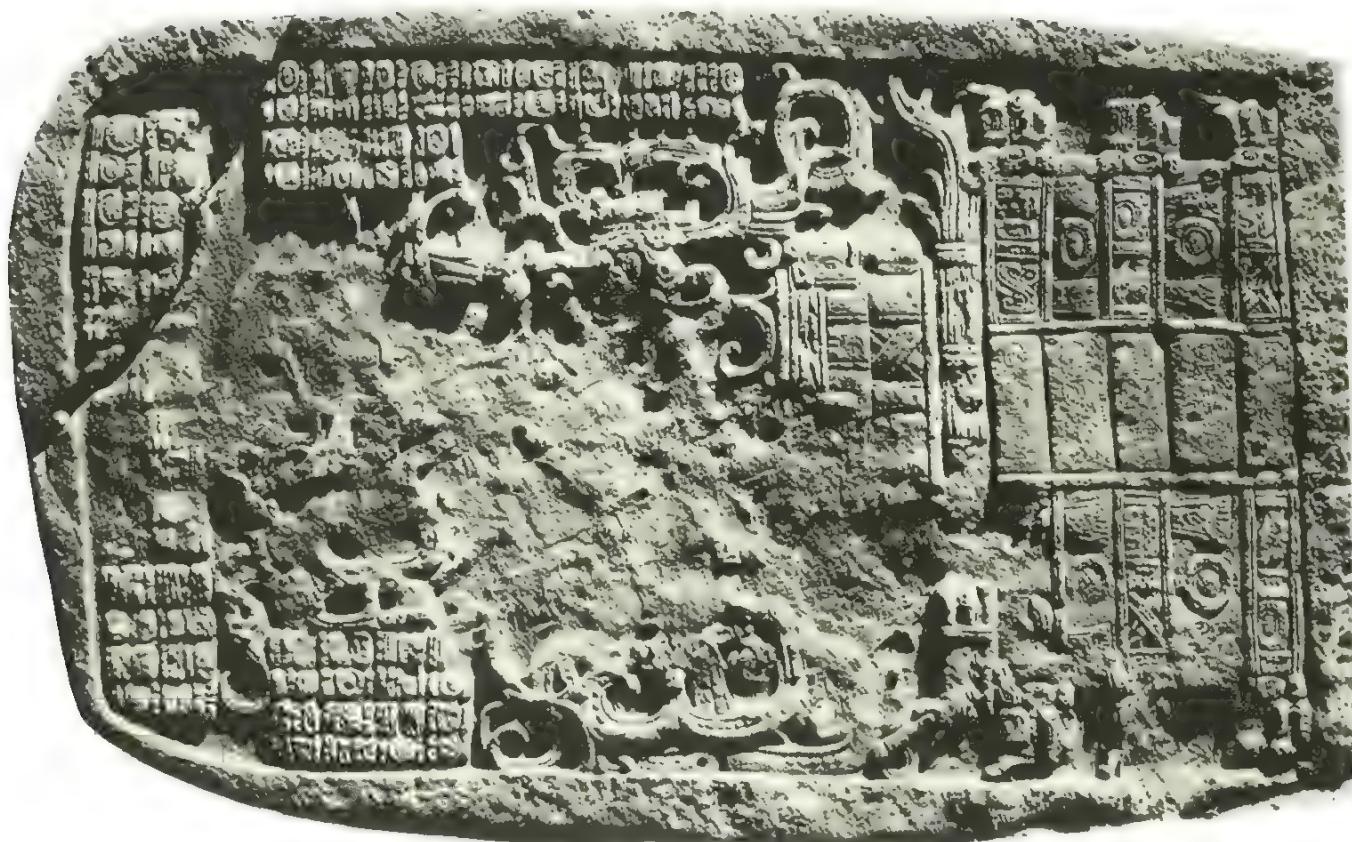


Fig. 8. Naranjo, stela 32 (after Maler, 1908, pl. 44)



Fig. 10. Quiriguá, stela H (after Morley, 1937-38, V, pl. 178D)



Fig. 11. Quiriguá, stela J (after Morley, 1937-38, V, pl. 178D)

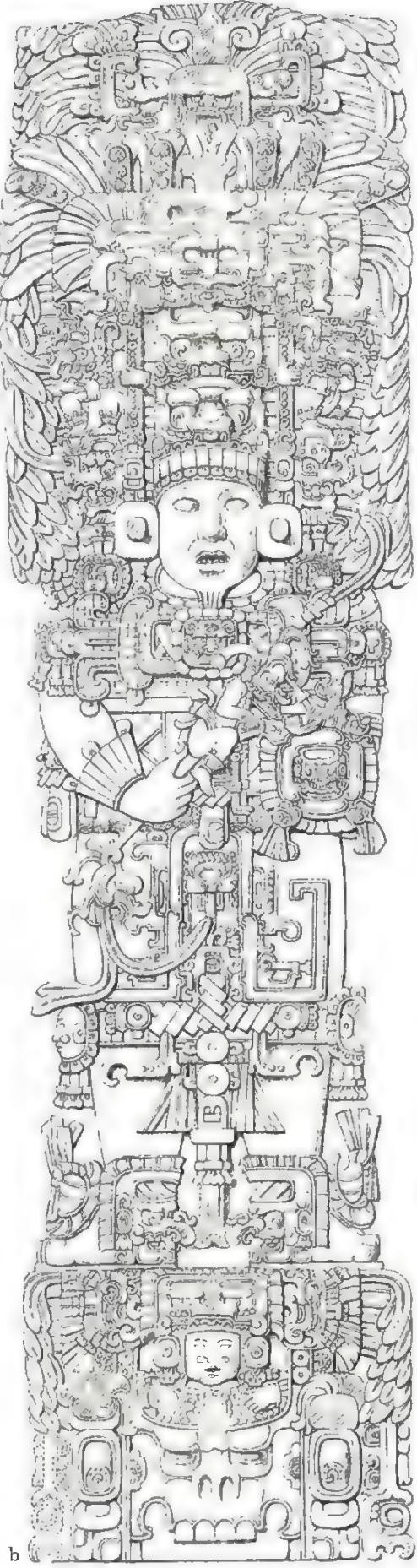
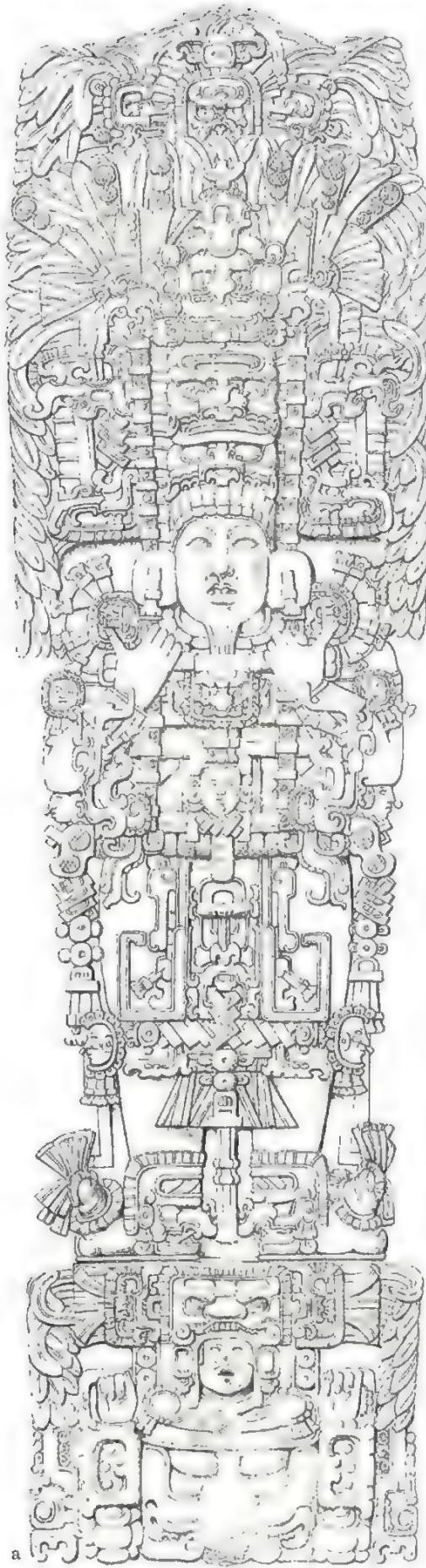


Fig. 12. Quiriguá, stela F, south (a) and north (b) faces (after Maudslay, II, pl. 36)



Fig. 13. Quiriguá, stela D, (a) south, (b) north (after Maudslay, II, pls. 21, 22)



a



b

Fig. 14. Quiriguá, stela E, south and north faces, (a) south, (b) north (after Maudslay, II, pls. 27, 28)



Fig. 15. Quiriguá, stelas A (left), C (right), south faces (after Maudslay, II, pls. 4, 16)



a



b

Fig. 16. Quiriguá, zoomorph B east (a), south (b) (after Maudslay, II, pl. 9, 12a)



a



b

Fig. 17. Quiriguá, Zoomorph G, (a) north, (b) south (after Maudslay, II, pl. 43a, b)

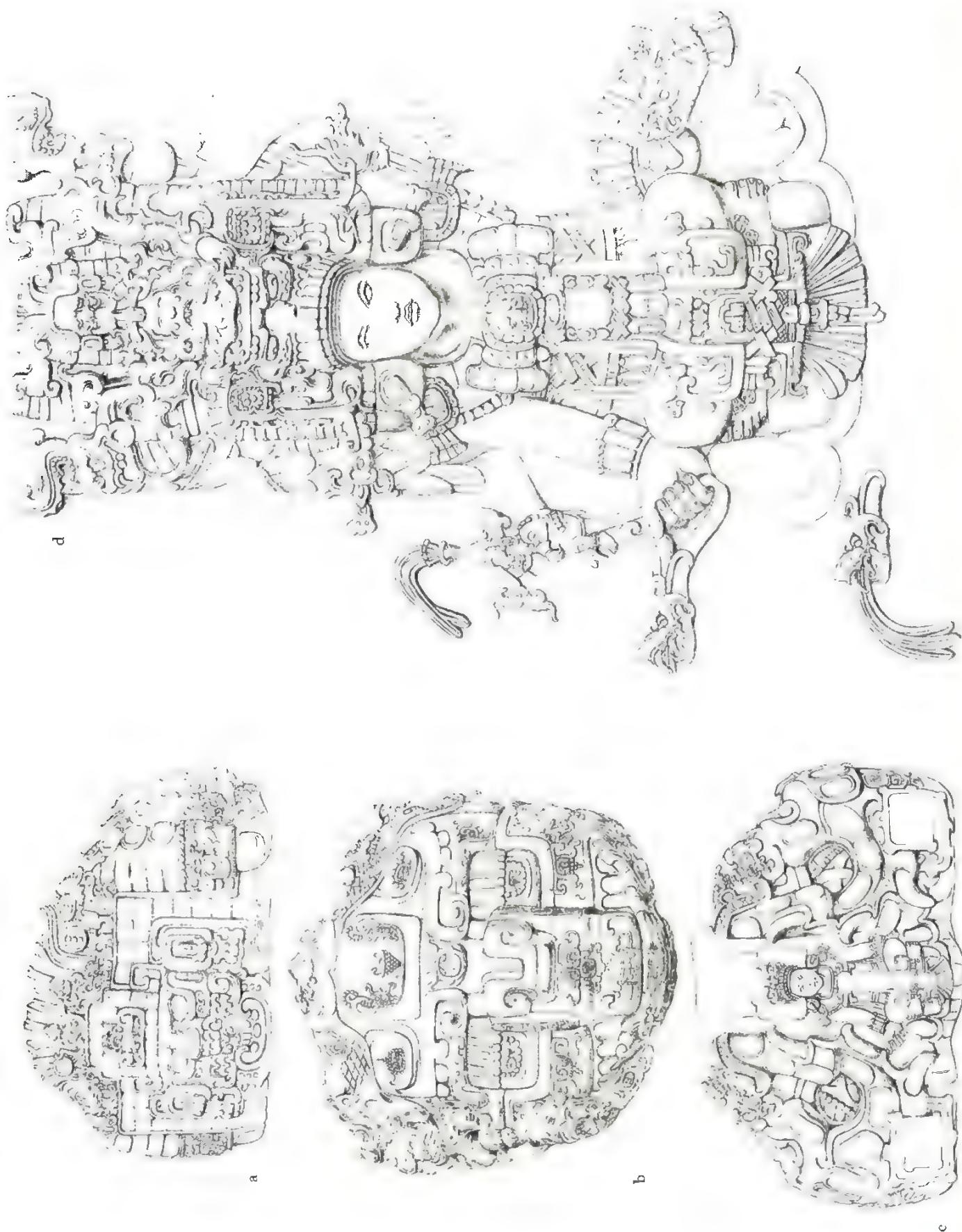


Fig. 18. Quiriguá, zoomorph P, south (a), top (b), and north (c, d) faces (after Maudslay, II, pls. 58, 62.)



a



b

Fig. 19. Quiriguá, stela I, front (a), back (b) (after Morley, 1937-38, V, pl. 172)



b



a

Fig. 20. Quiriguá, stela K, west (a), east (b) faces (after Maudslay, II, pl. 48)

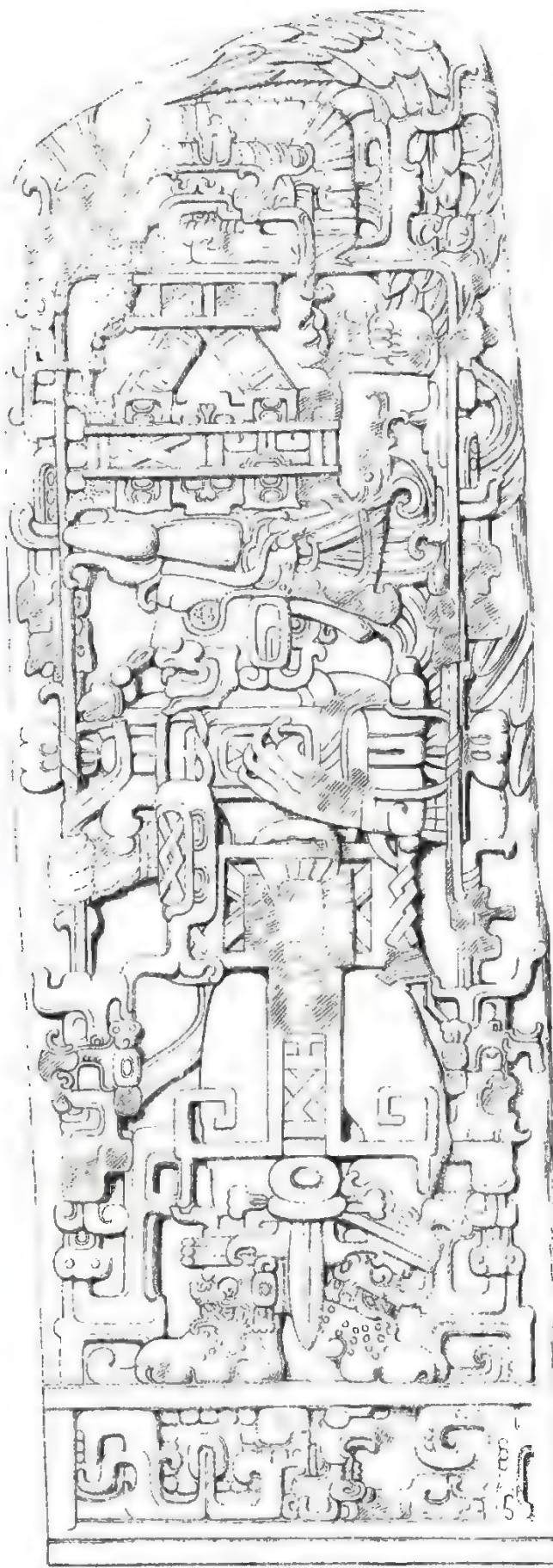


Fig. 21. Quiriguá, stelas A (left), C (right), north faces (after Maudslay, II, pls. 8, 20)

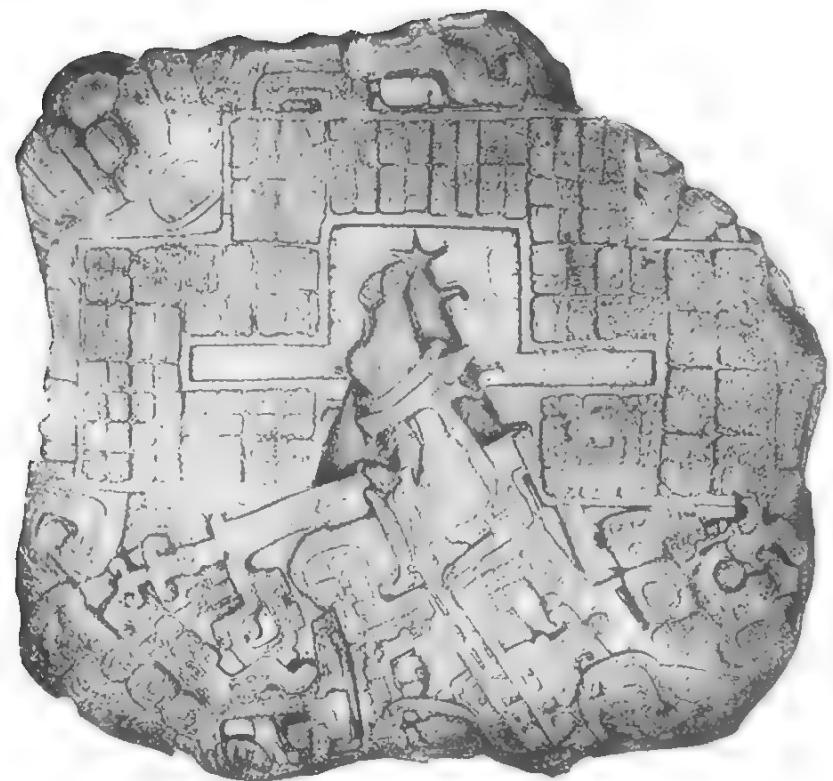


Fig. 22. Quiriguá, altars O (below), P (top) (after Morley, 1937-38, III, front; IV, front)

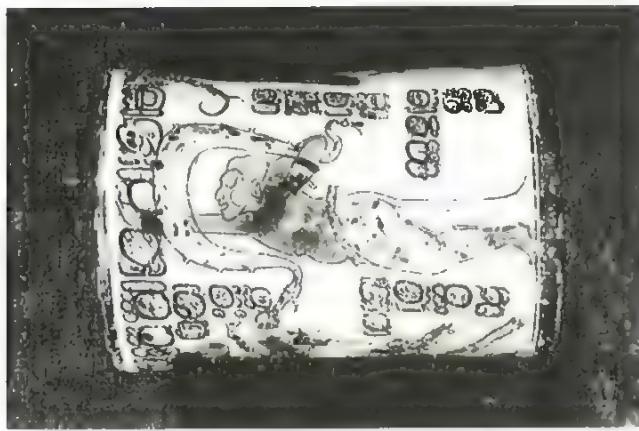


Fig. 23. Guatemala, Museo de Arqueología, polychrome vessel from Altar de Sacrificios (Photo Sittler, Guatemala.)

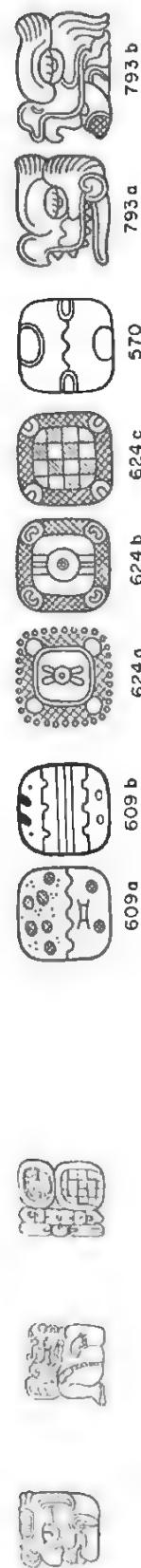


Fig. 24a. Palenque, glyphs GI, GI, GII
(after Berlin 1963)
Fig. 24b. Glyphs T 609 (jaguar pelt); T 624 (sun shield); T 570 (Palenque emblem a);
T 793 (Palenque emblem b). Reprinted from *A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs*, by
J. Eric S. Thompson. Copyright 1962 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

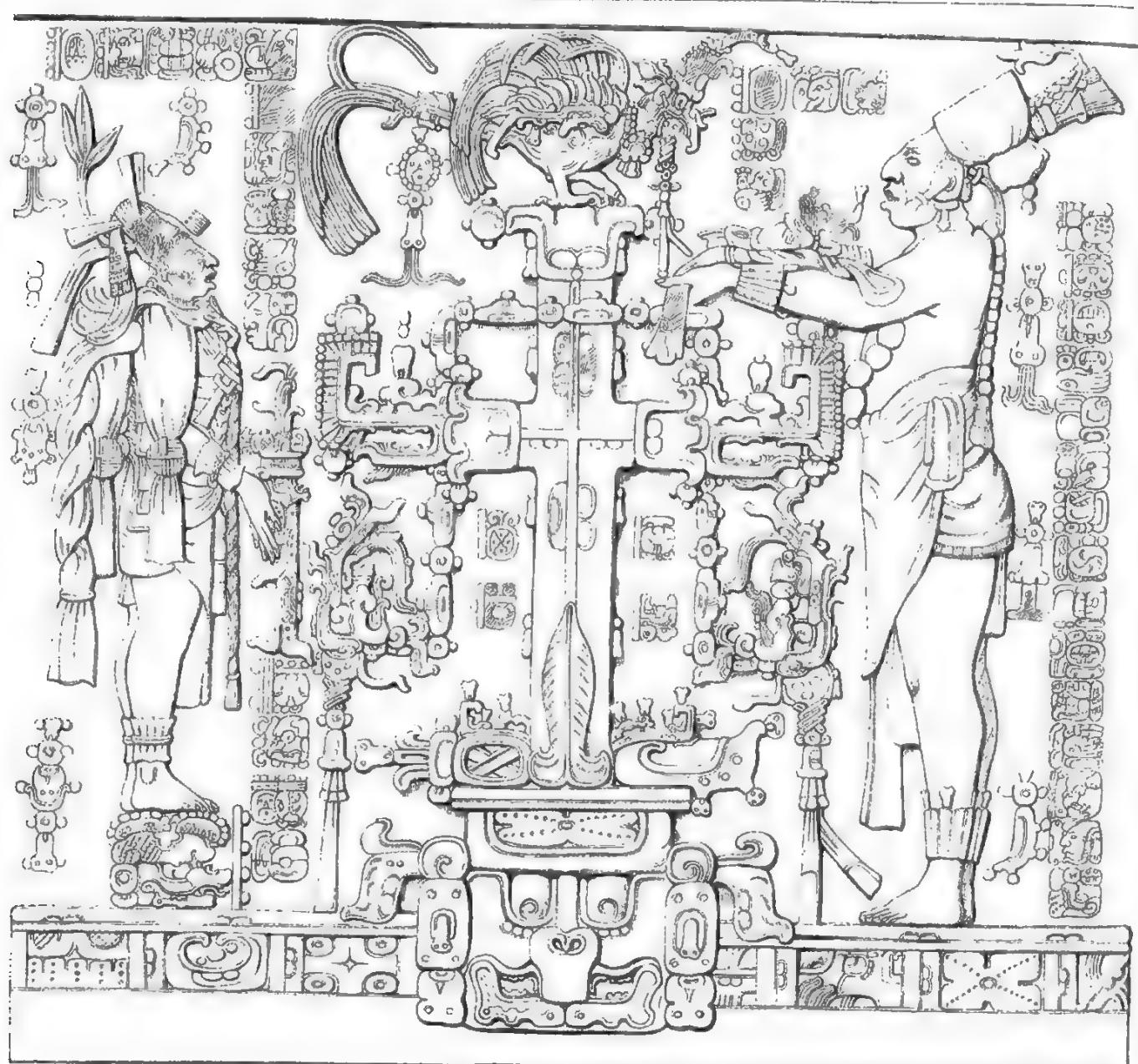


Fig. 25. Palenque, Temple of the Cross, sanctuary tablet, center panel (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 76)

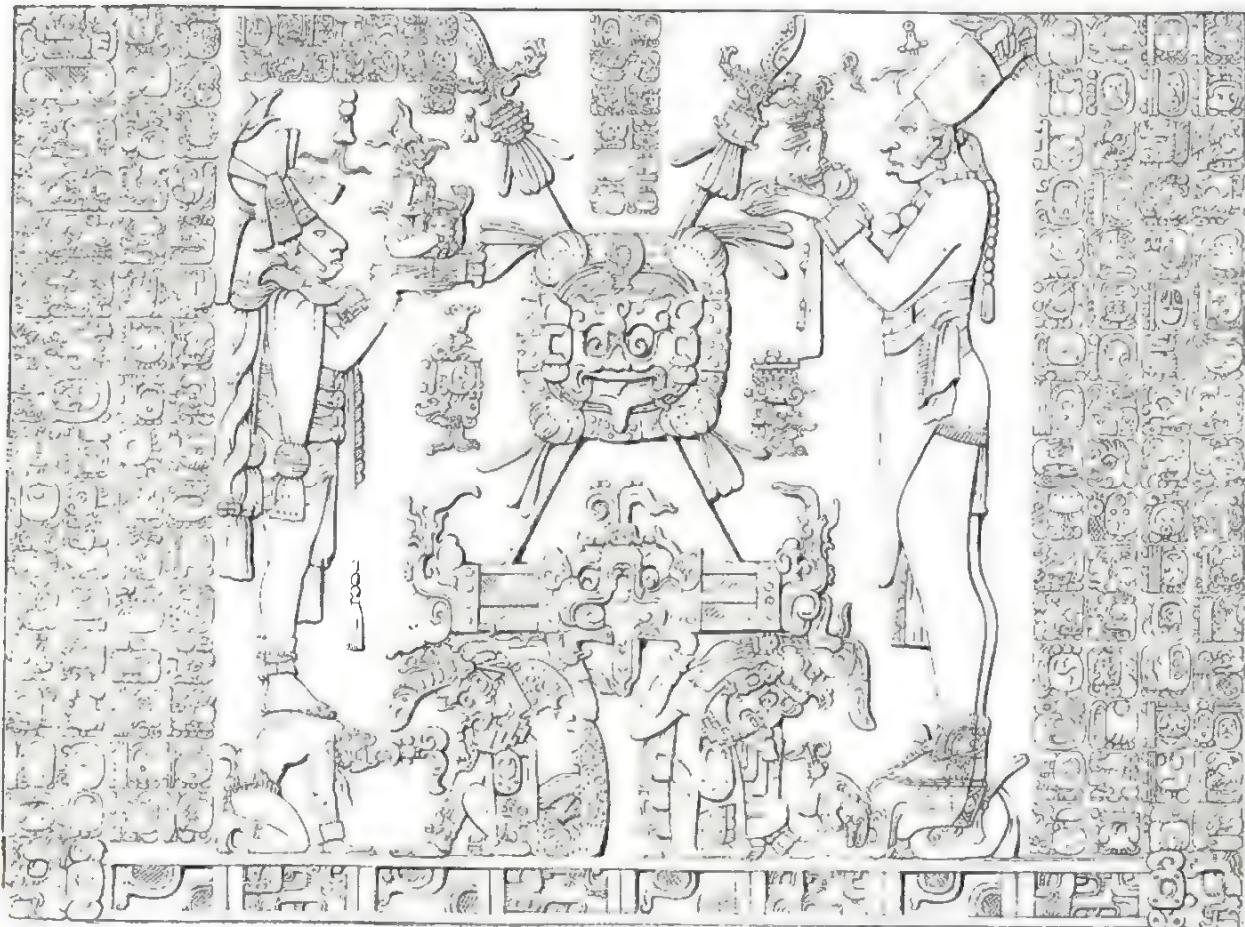


Fig. 26. Palenque, Temple of the Sun, sanctuary tablet (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 88)

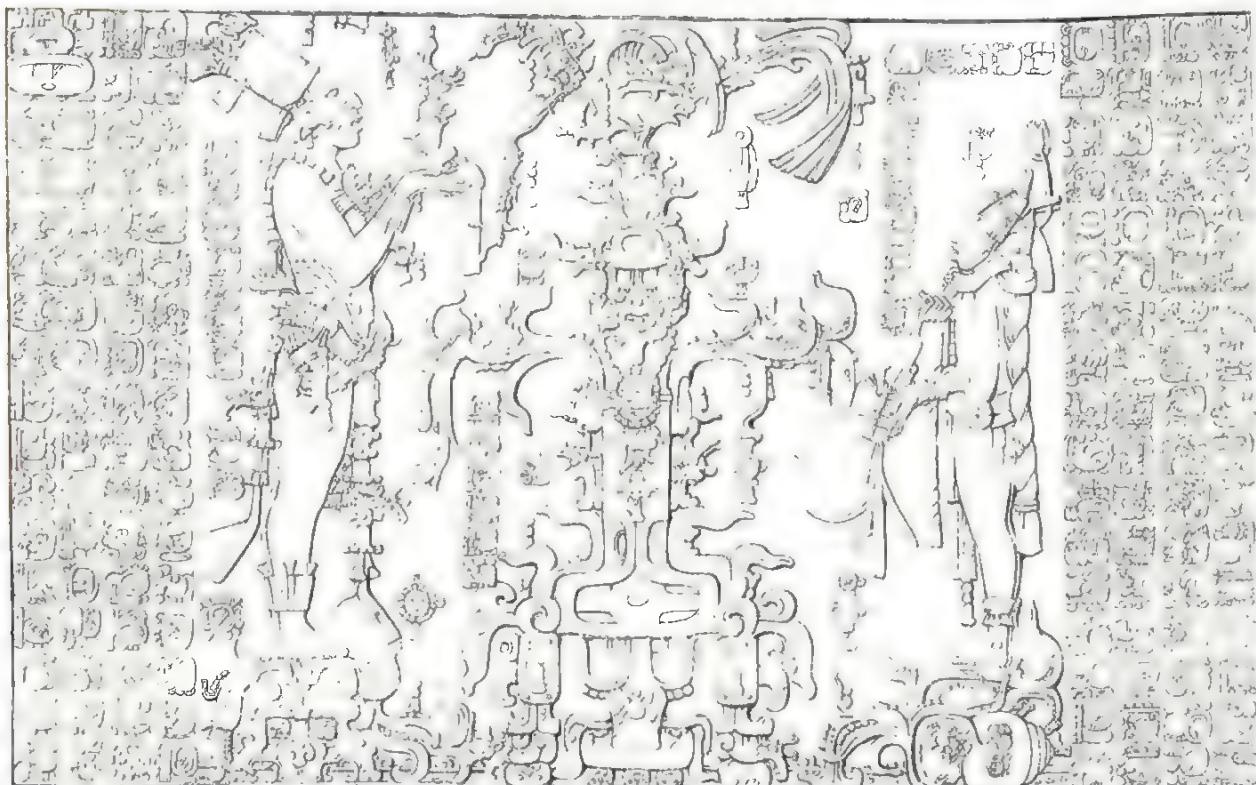


Fig. 27. Palenque, Temple of the Foliated Cross, sanctuary tablet (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 81)

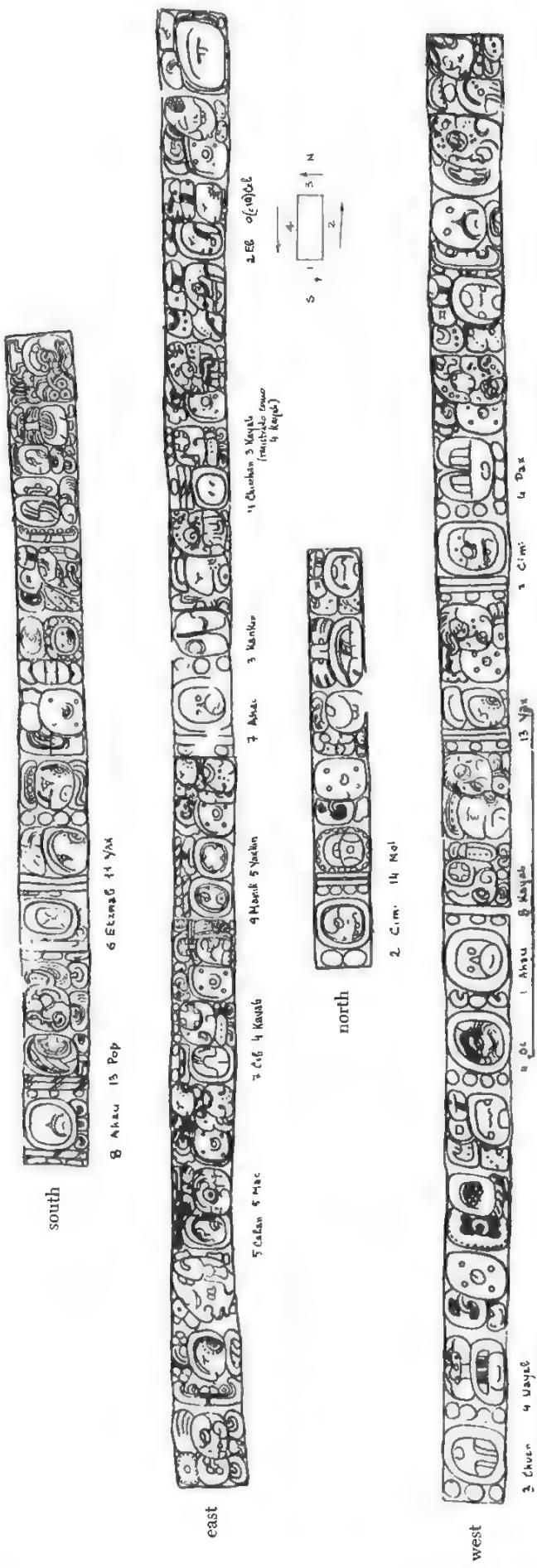


Fig. 28. Palenque, glyphs on edge of sarcophagus lid in crypt of Temple of Inscriptions (after Ruz, 1952, fig. 9)

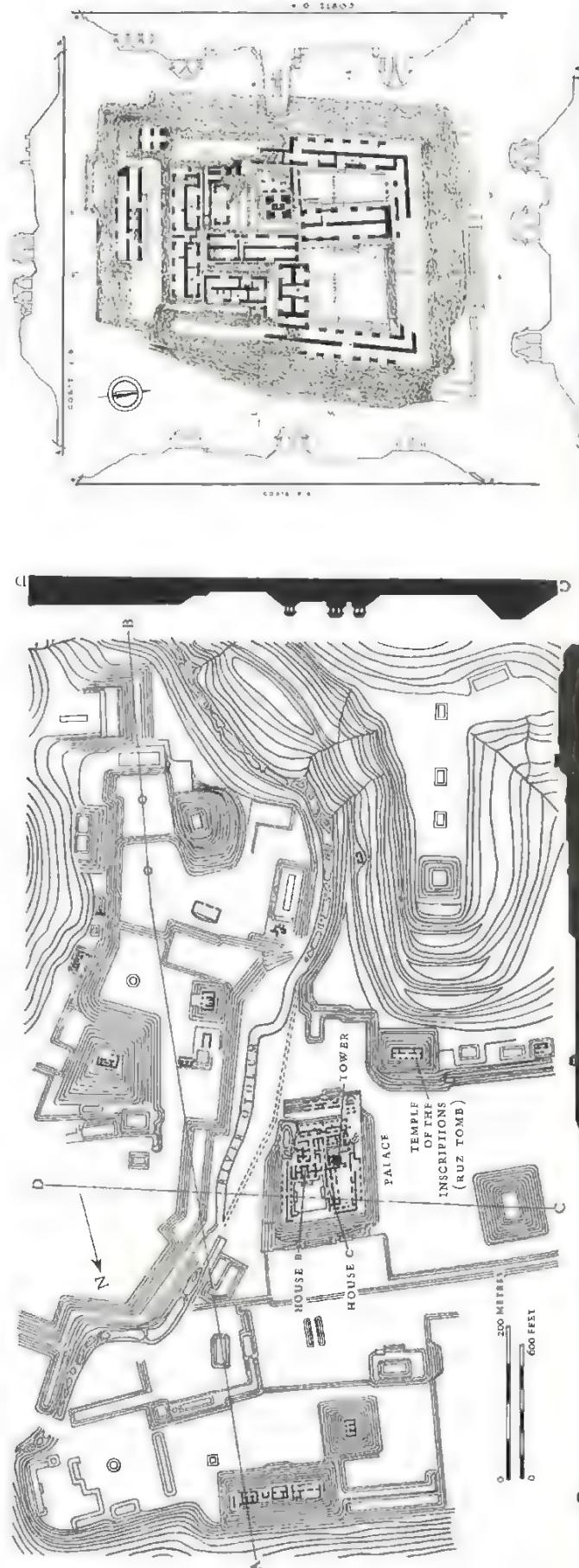


Fig. 29. Palenque, plan of Palace (after Marquardt, 1950).

Fig. 30. Palenque, plan of the site (Marquardt, 1950).

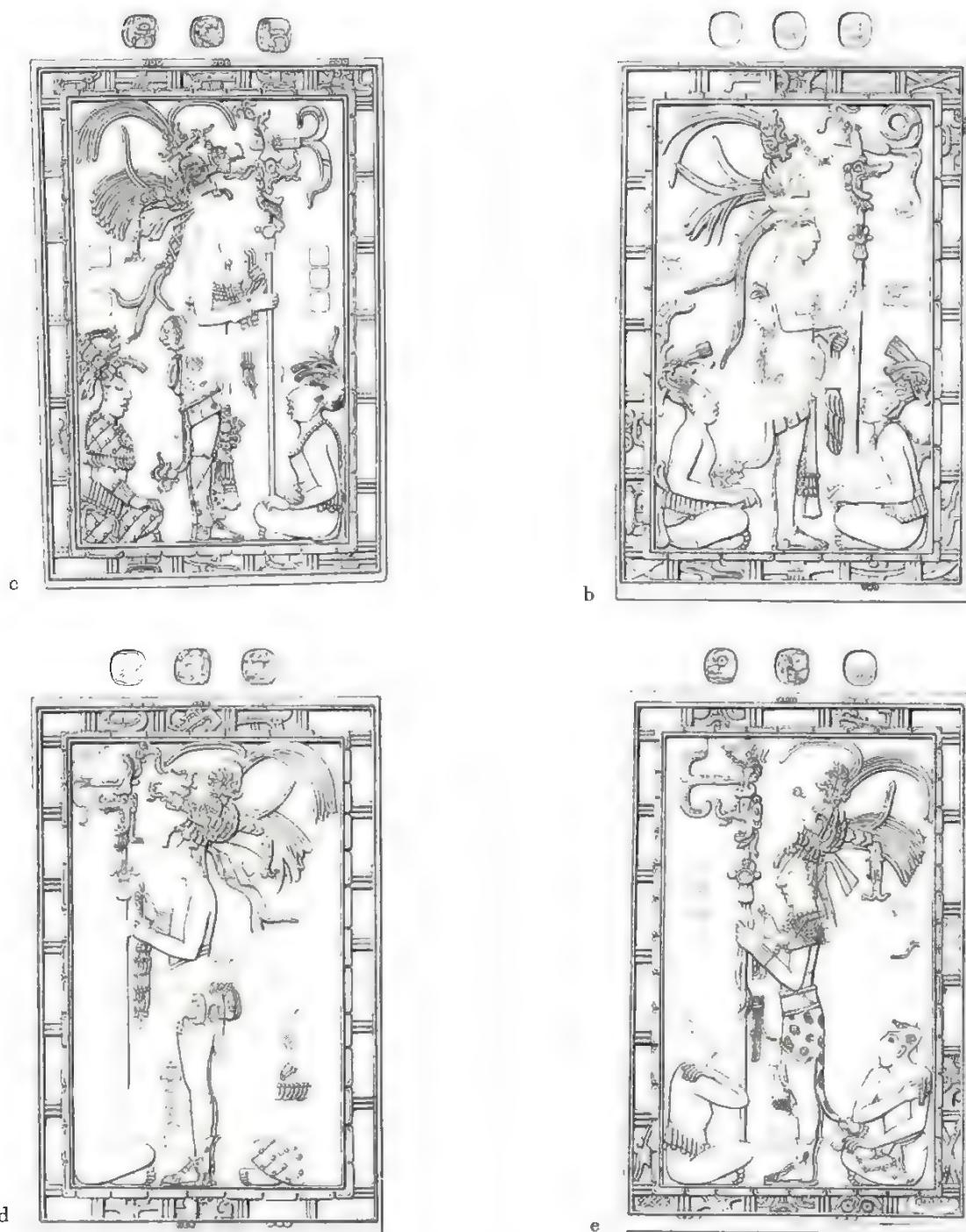


Fig. 31. Palenque, Palace, House A, eastern piers, c, b, d, e (after Maudslay, IV, pls, 10, 11)

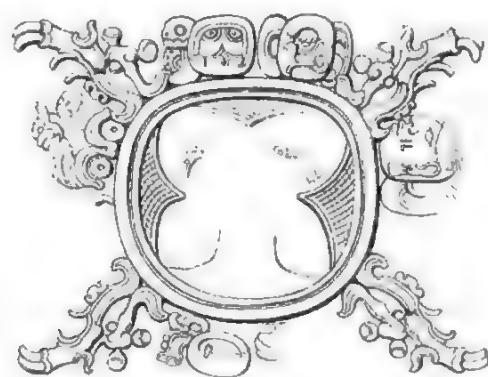
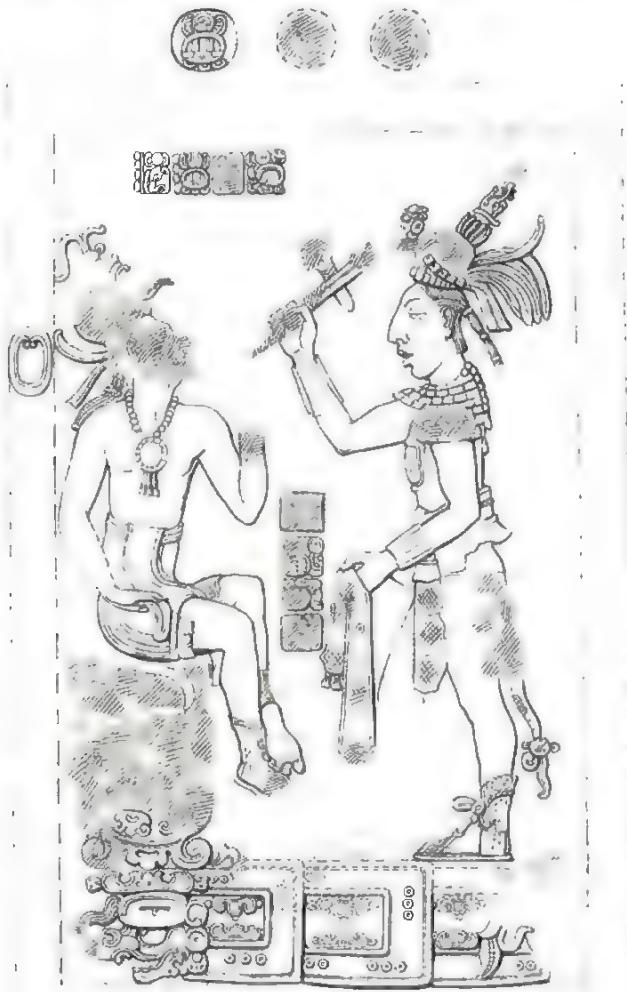
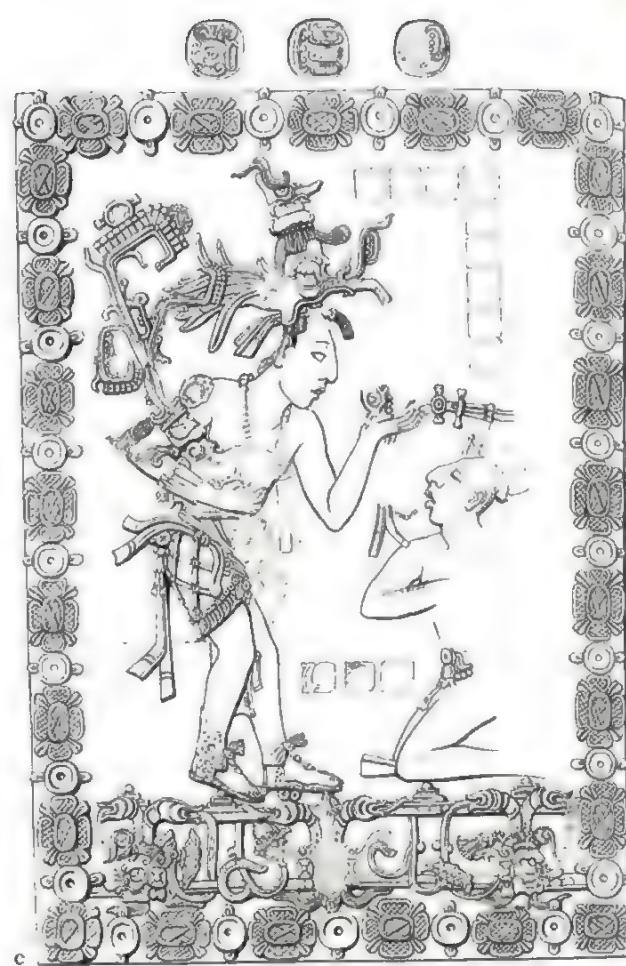


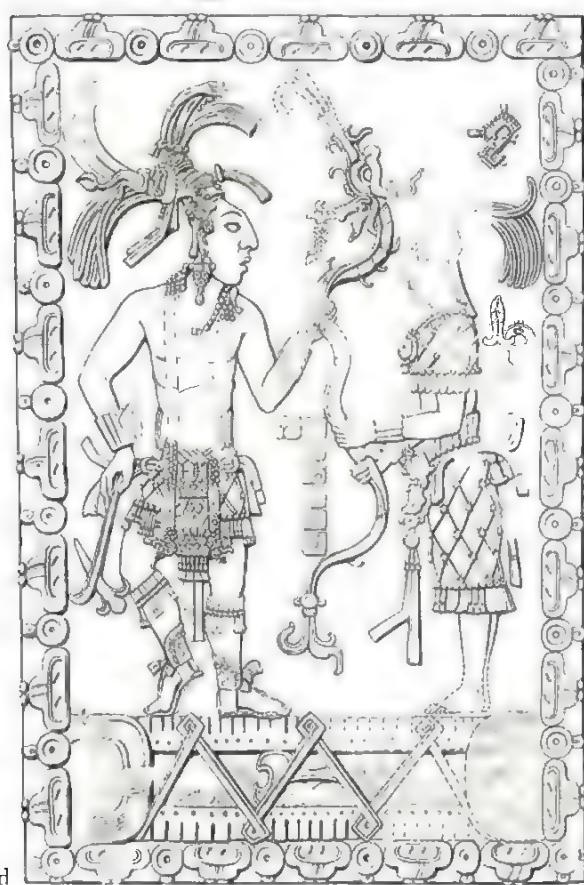
Fig. 32. Palenque, Palace, House A, medallion on median wall facing east (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 6)



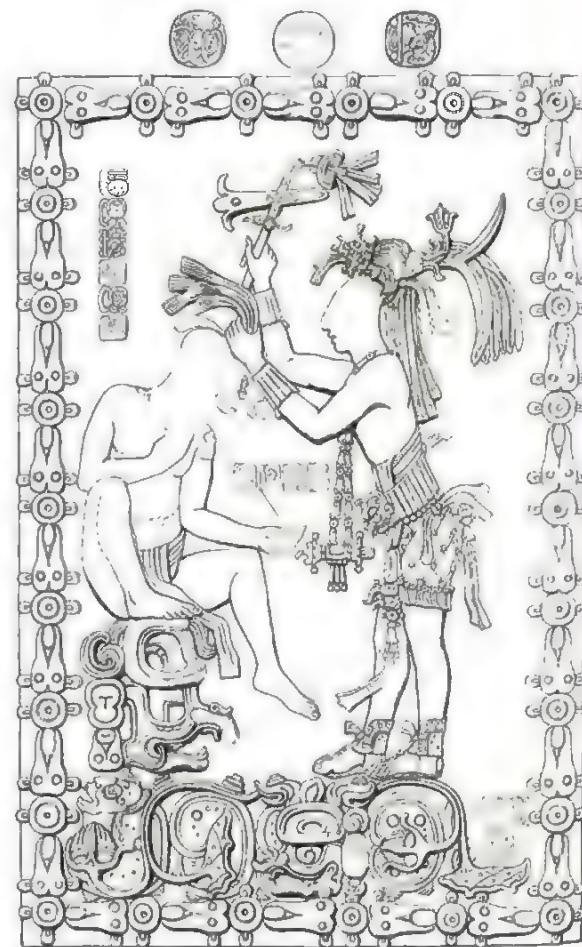
b



c



d



f

Fig. 33. Palenque, Palace, House D, western piers b, c, d, f (after Maudslay, IV, pls. 34-37)

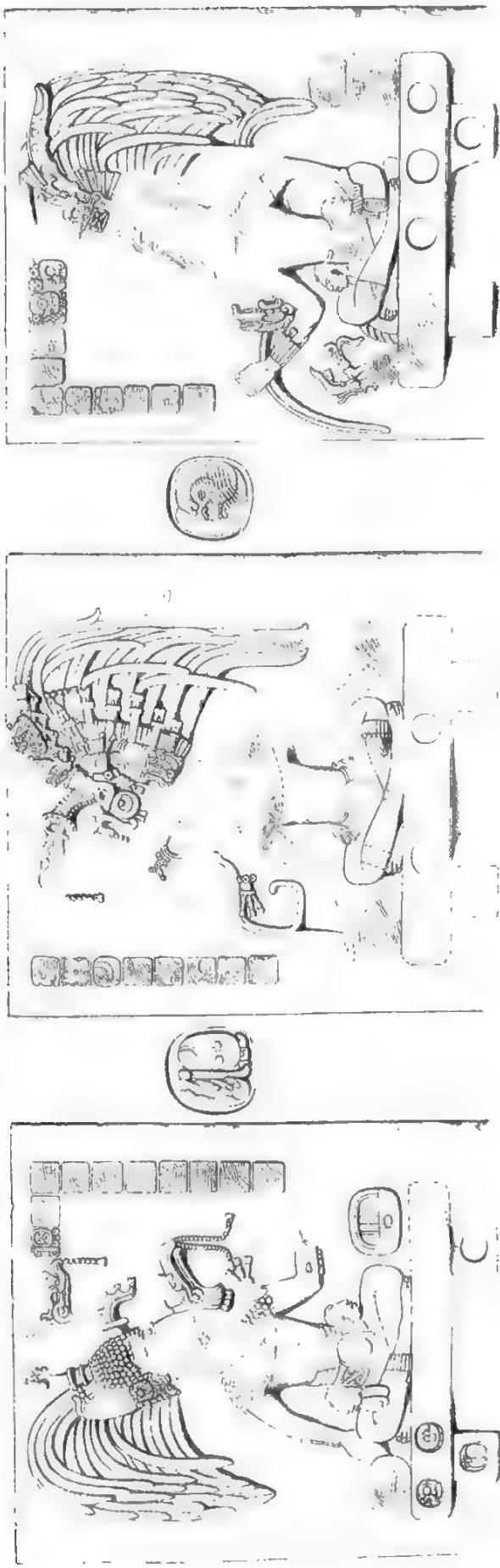


Fig. 34. Palenque, Palace, House C, western piers (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 28)

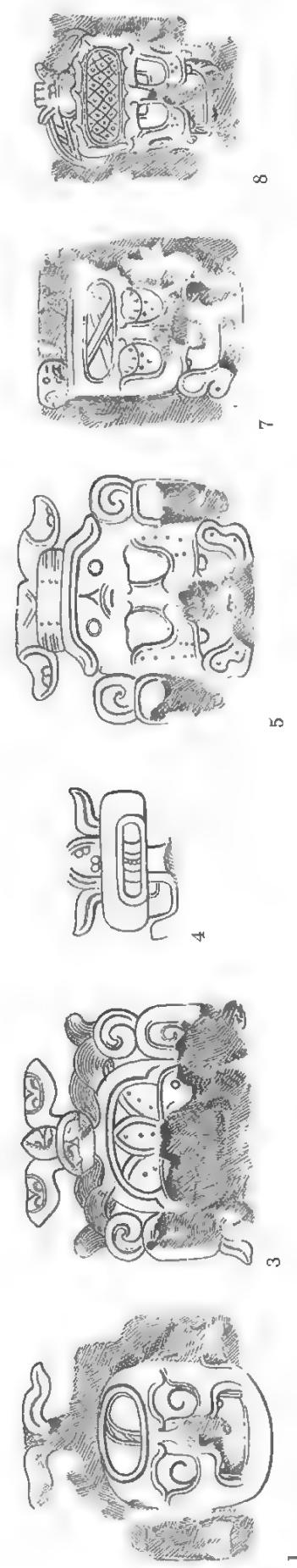


Fig. 35. Palenque, Palace, House C, median wall, masks 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 facing west (after Seler, 1915, figs. 65-70)

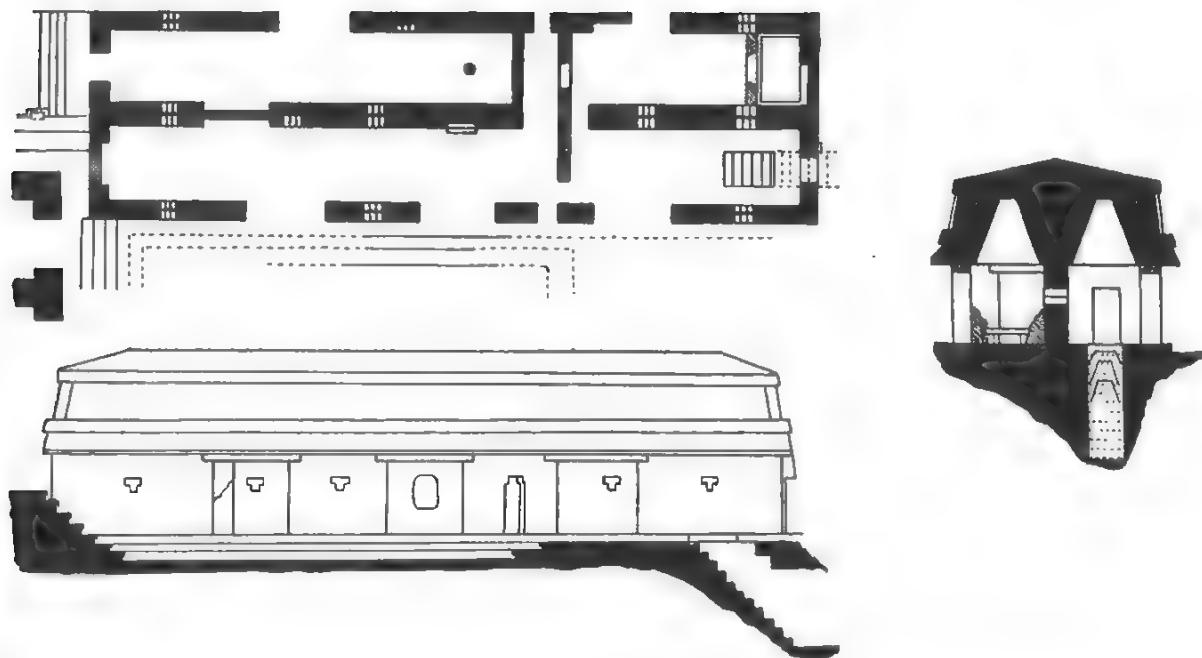


Fig. 36. Palenque, Palace, House E, plan, section, elevation (after Seler 1915, figs. 98 100)



Fig. 37. Palenque, Group IV, Tablet of the Slaves (after Ruz, 1951, fig. 12)

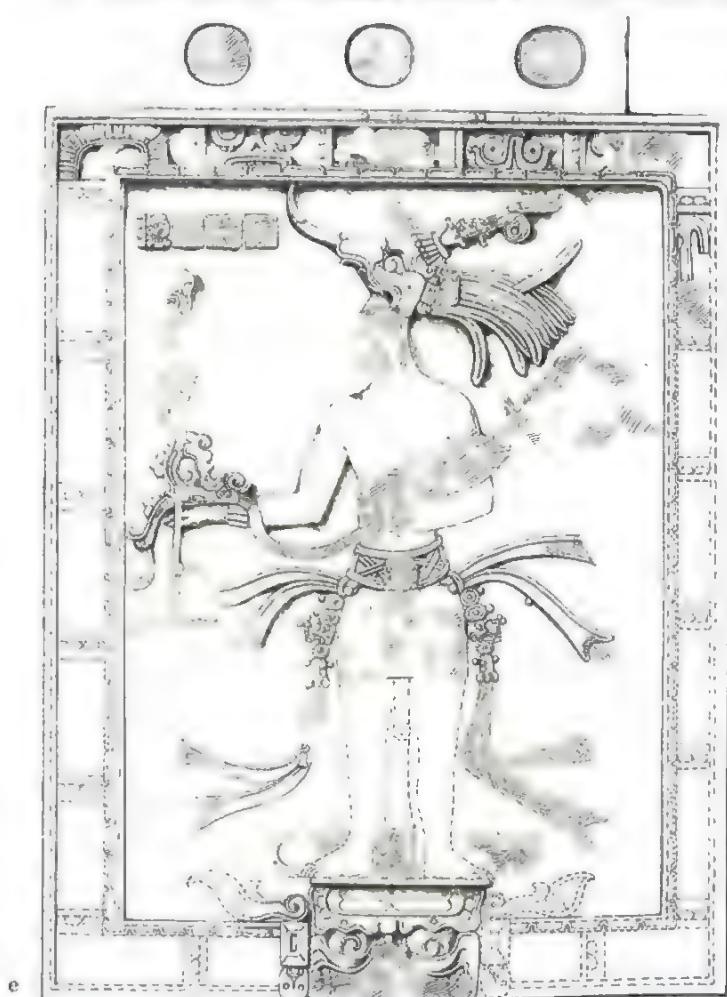
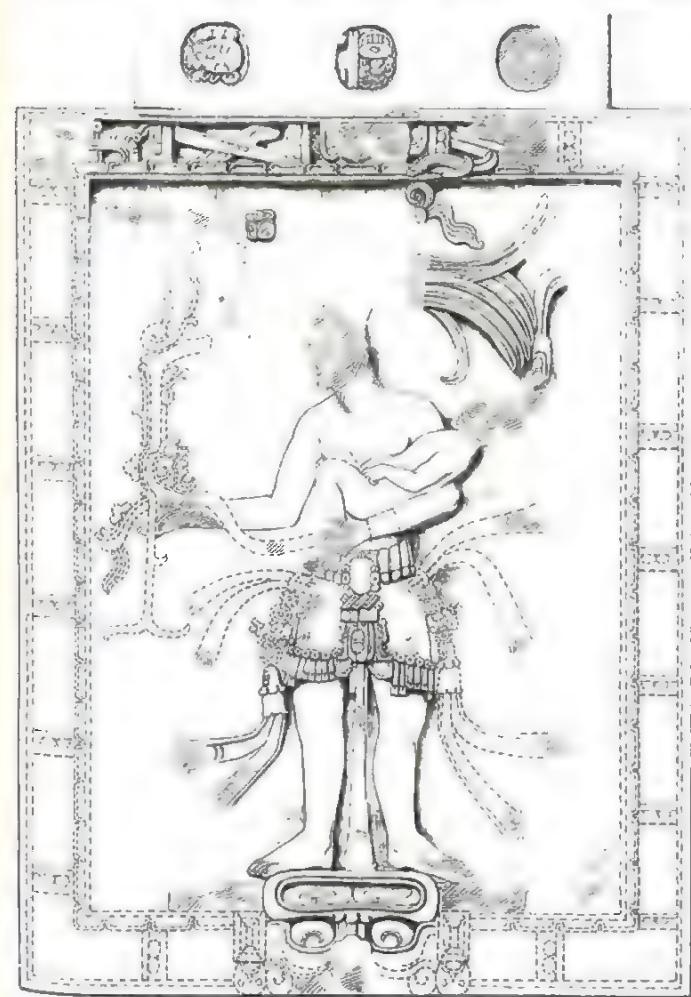
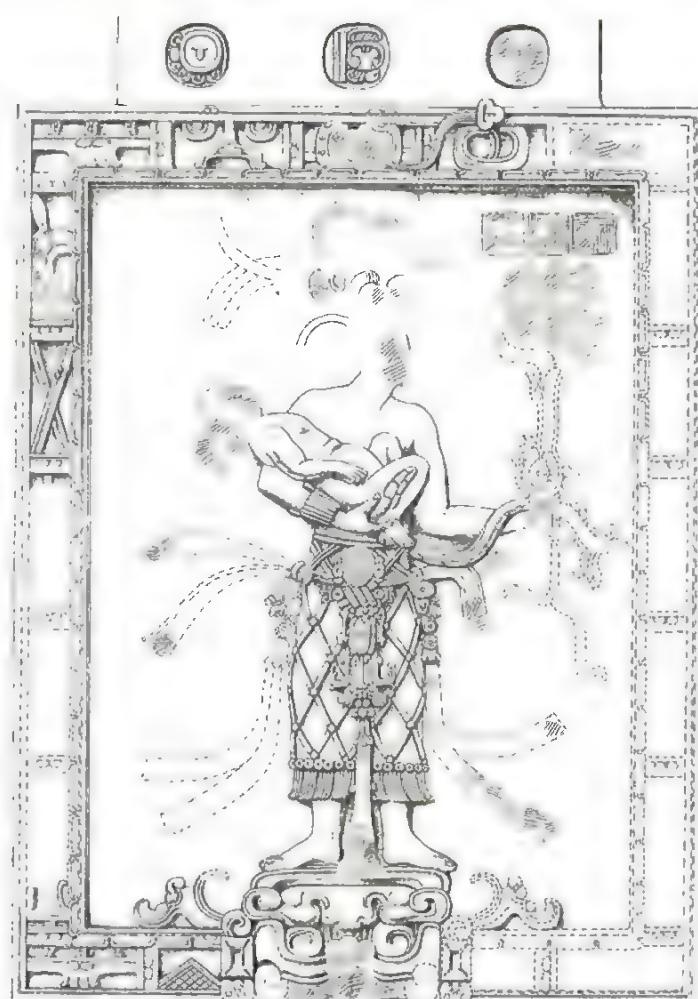
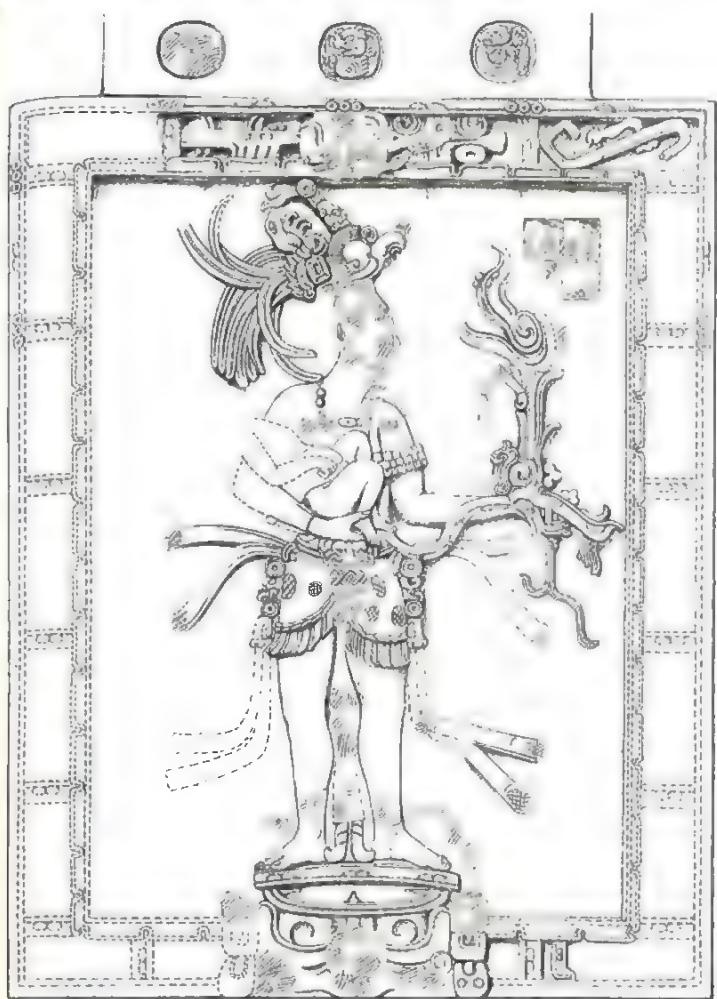


Fig. 38. Palenque, Temple of Inscriptions, piers b, c, d, e facing north (after Maudslay, IV, pls. 55, 56)



Fig. 39. Palenque, Temple of Inscriptions, sarcophagus lid (after Greene and Thompson, 1967)

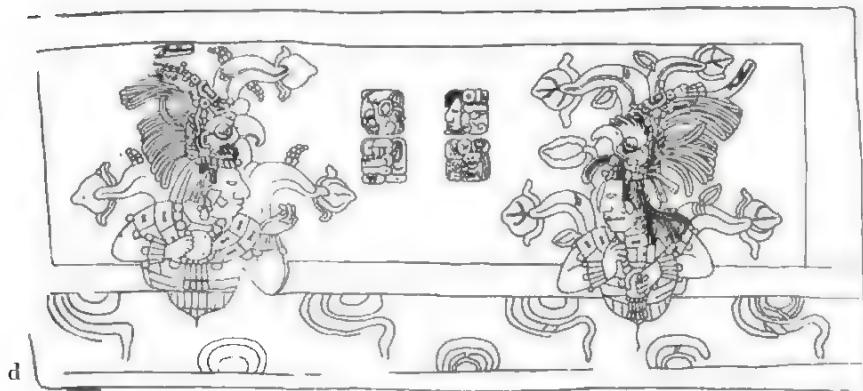
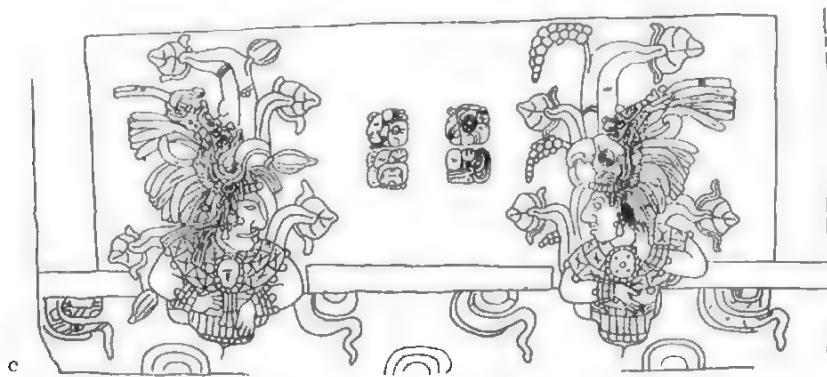
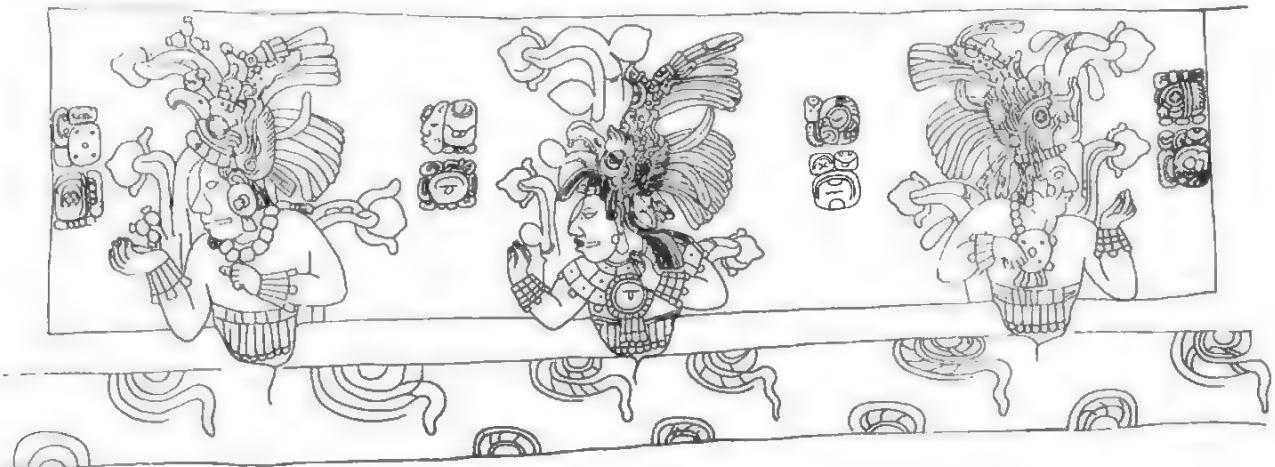
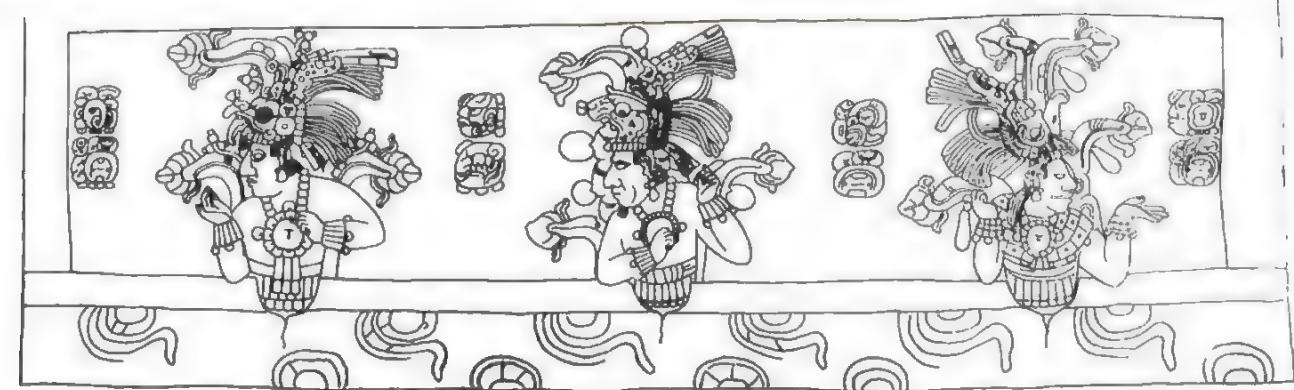
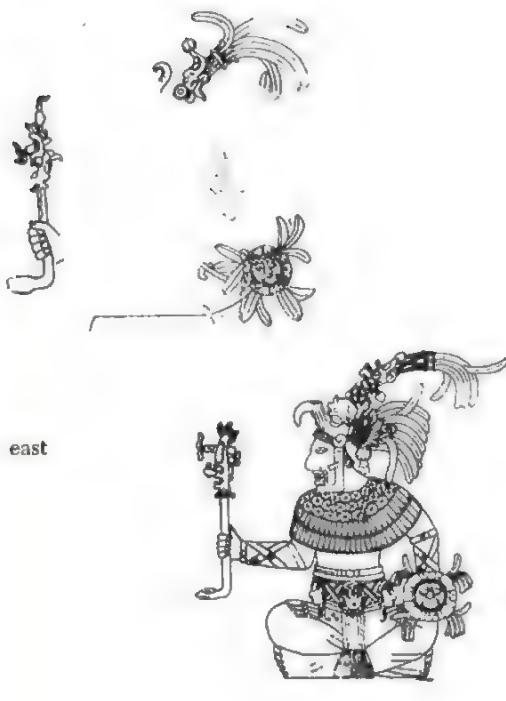


Fig. 40. Palenque, Temple of Inscriptions, sarcophagus walls, (a, east; b, west; c, north; d, south) inscribed reliefs (after Ruz, 1958, figs. 13-14)

north



east



west

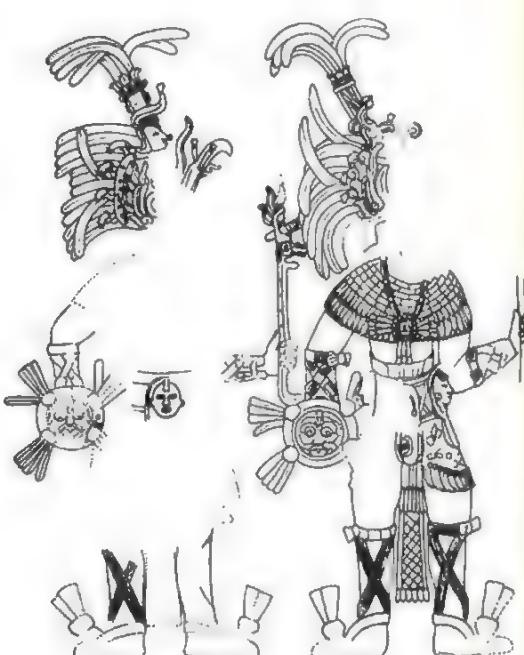
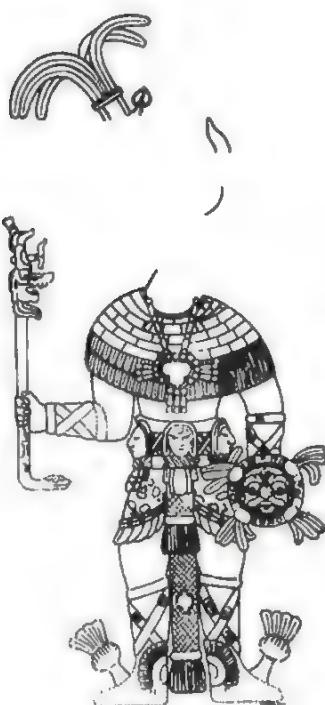


Fig. 41. Palenque, Temple of Inscriptions, stucco reliefs (top, north and east; bottom, west) on walls of crypt (after Ruz, 1958, figs. 16-18)



Fig. 42. Uaxactun, polychrome plate (after A.L. Smith, 1934)



Fig. 43. Piedras Negras, stela 40 (after Morley, 1937-38, V, pl. 135)



Fig. 44. New York, Museum of Primitive Art, wooden figure (photo Museum of Primitive Art)



Fig. 45. Tikal, pottery effigy censer, Muluc phase, Burial 10, ht. 14 inches (photo University Museum, Philadelphia)

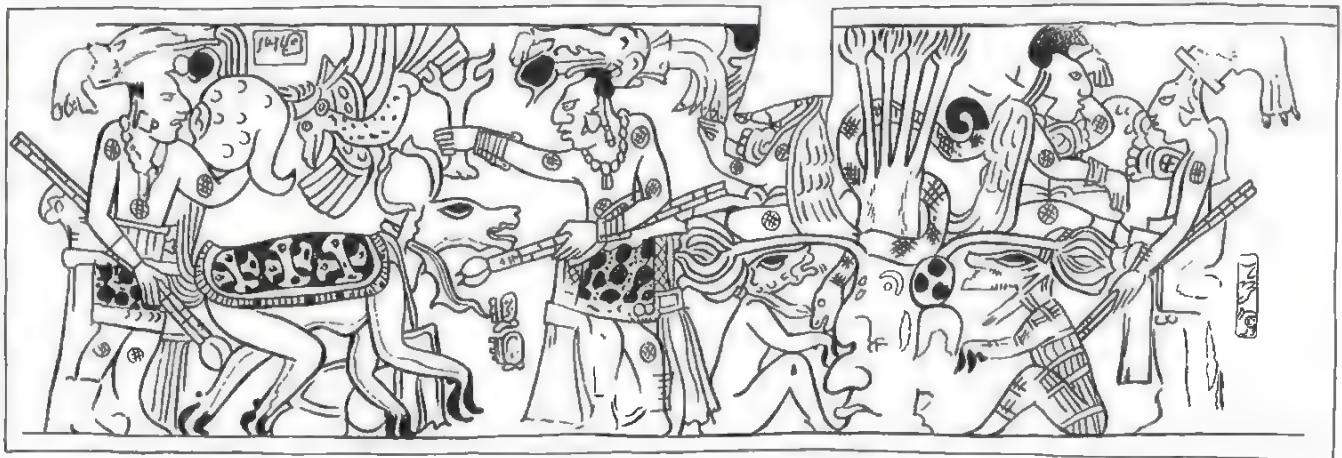


Fig. 46. Drawing of polychrome vessel from Calcehtok, Yucatan (after Morley, 1946, pl. 89)*



Fig. 47. Vessel fragment from Actun Balam, B H. (after Pendergast 1966, p. 159)

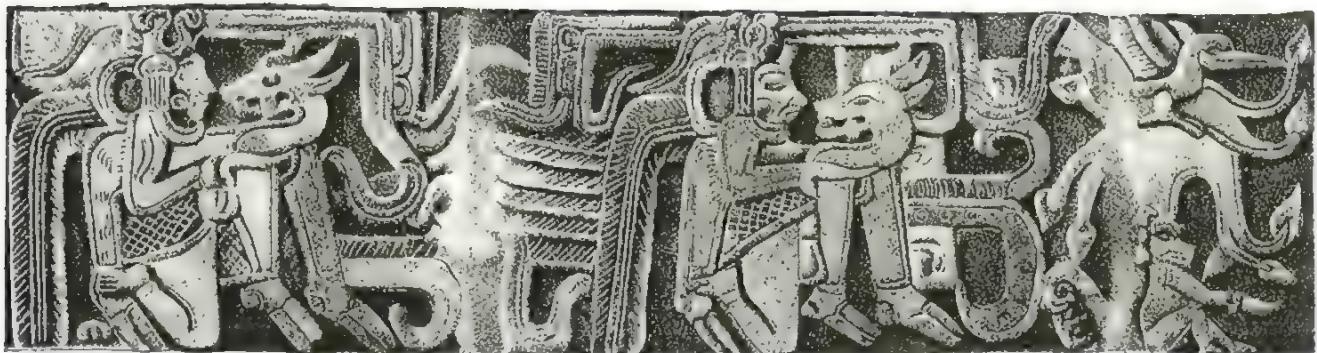


Fig. 48. Motagua carved ware (after Smith and Kidder, 1943, fig. 27)

*Fig. 46 is reprinted from *The Ancient Maya*, Third Edition (Plate 93b, page 400) by Sylvanus G. Morley, revised by George W. Brainerd, with the permission of the publishers, Stanford University Press. Copyright © 1946, 1947, 1956, by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University.



Fig. 49. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, Bliss Collection.
Jaina figurine (photo courtesy Dumbarton Oaks)



Fig. 50. Quiriguá, stela D, west side, full-figure glyph (after Maudslay, II, pl. 26)



Fig. 51. Copán, Ball Court II, north marker (after Strömsvik, 1947), and (left) Palenque, Tablet of Inscriptions, glyphs at D5 and J8 which include the triadic sign T272 (after Spinden, 1957, fig. 82)



552



561a



565



673a



673b

Fig. 52a. The crossed bands glyph (T552) and other signs with which it is combined; sky (T561), serpent segment (T565), fist (T673) (after Thompson, 1962)

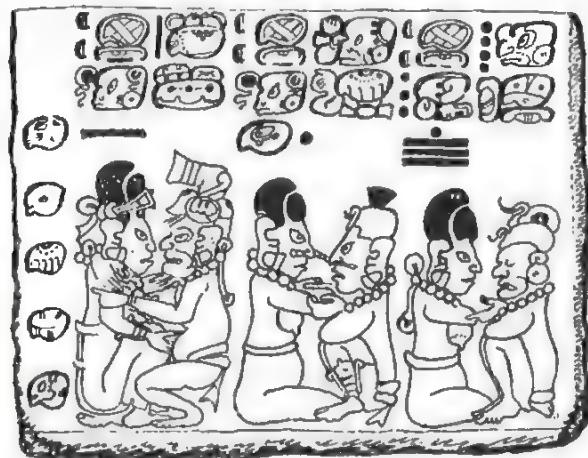


Fig. 52b. Dresden 2lb: crossed band glyphs (Z74.1350:79) over illustrations designating sexual union? (after Villacorta and Villacorta, 1930)



Fig. 52c. Shells drawn in various Maya conventions (after Spinden, 1924, fig. 8)



672

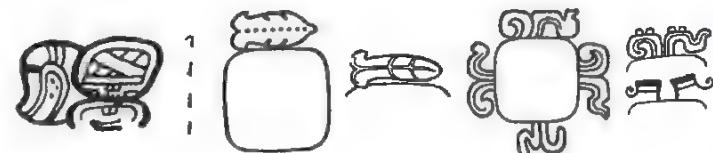


589



1369

Fig. 52d. Glyph T672
(fire fist) and T589
(drill) (after
Thompson 1962)



212

Fig. 52f. Glyph
T212 as affix
(Thompson, 1962,
449)

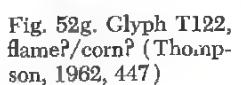


Fig. 52g. Glyph T122,
flame?/corn? (Thompson, 1962, 447)

Figs. 52a, 52d, 52f, and 52g all reprinted from *A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs*, by J. Eric S. Thompson. Copyright 1962 by the University of Oklahoma Press.



Fig. 53. Tikal, blackware vessel with fitted lid from Central Acropolis, Early Classic (after Coe, 1965, 30)

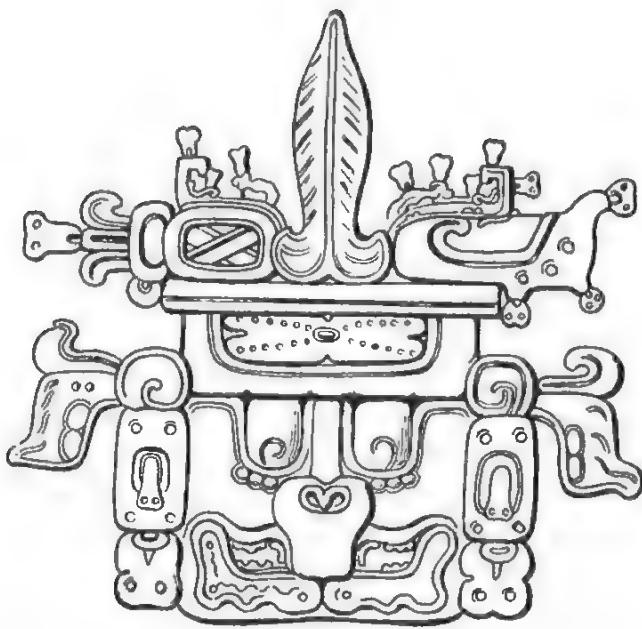


Fig. 54. Palenque, Temple of the Cross, altar tablet detail (after Maudslay IV, pl. 76)



Fig. 55. Copán, stela H, back view and detail at left (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 61 and Seler 1915, 91)

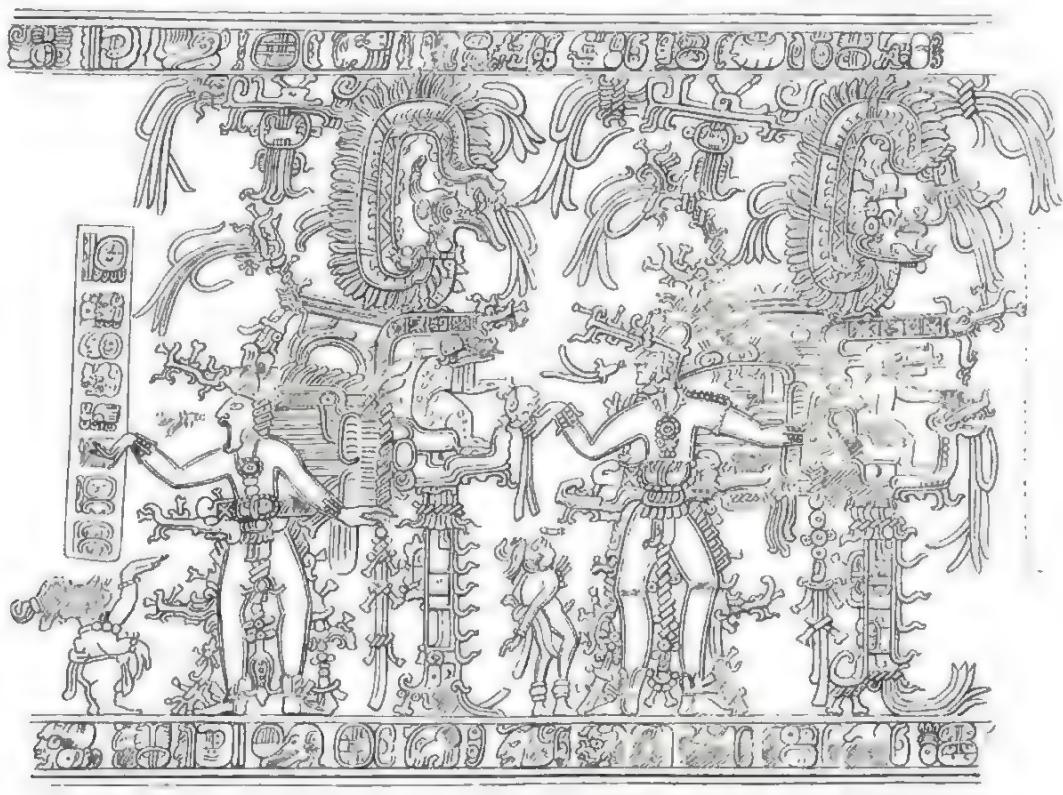


Fig. 56. Yaloch B. H., cylindrical vase (after Gordon, 1925, pl. XVIII)

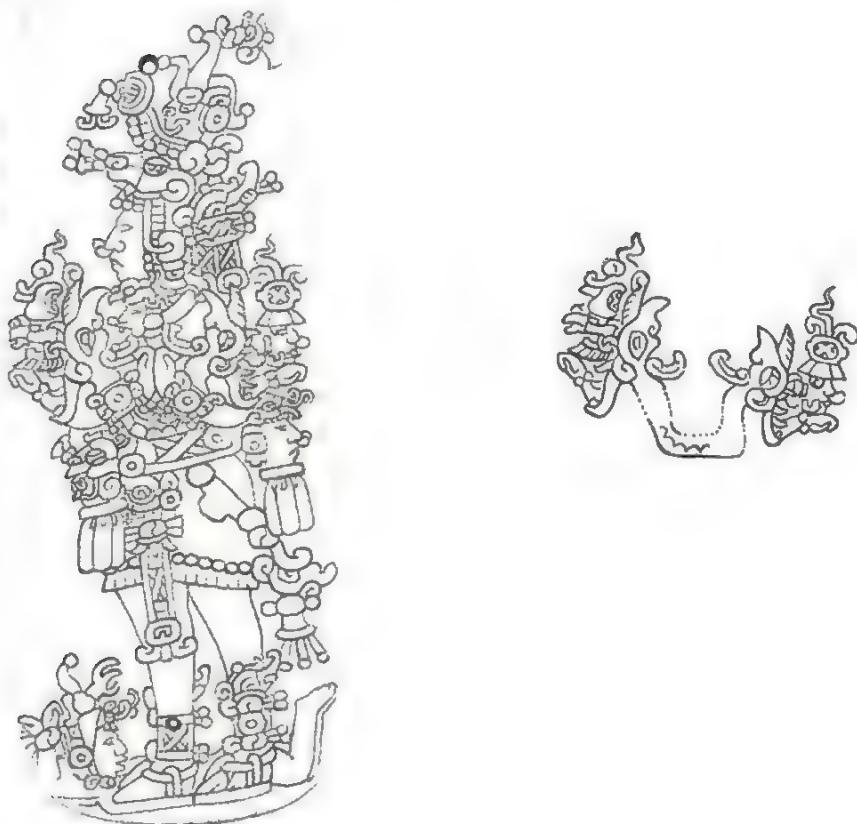


Fig. 57. Leyden plate, with detail of ceremonial bar (courtesy W. R. Coe and detail after Seler, 1915, 39)

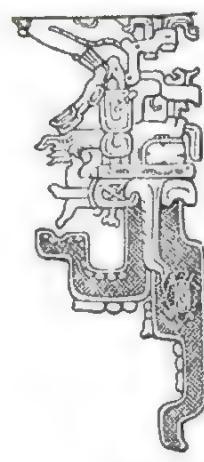
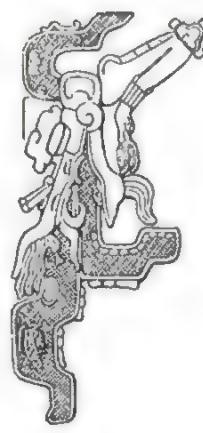
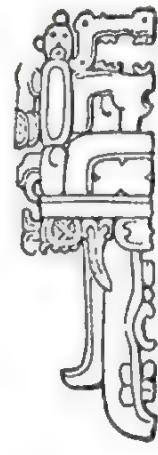
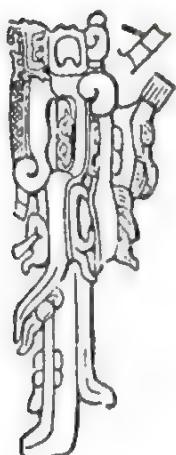


Fig. 58. Piedras Negras, stela 6 (after Maler, 1901, pl. XV and Rands, 1955, 304)

Fig. 59. Piedras Negras, stela 11 (after Maler, 1901, pl. XX, and Rands, 1955, 304)

Fig. 60. Piedras Negras, stela 14 (after Maler 1901, pl. XX, and Rands, 1955, 304)

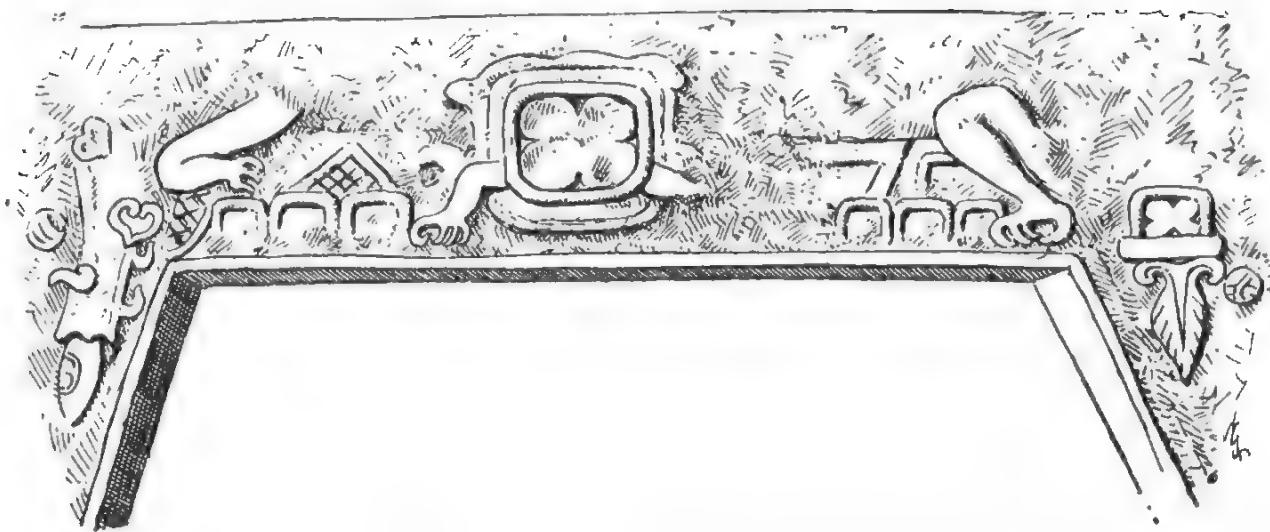


Fig. 61. Palenque, Palace, House E, doorway stuccoes in underground passage leading to west room (after Seler, 1915, 100)

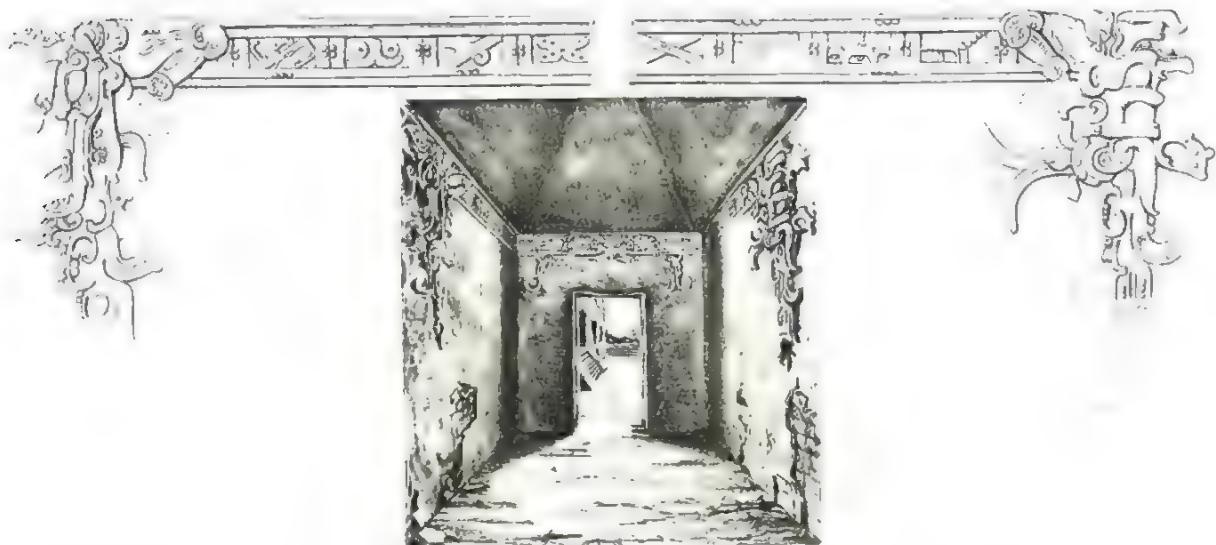


Fig. 62. Palenque, Palace, House E, doorway stuccoes over northern doorway in eastern corridor (after Maudslay, IV, plate 43)

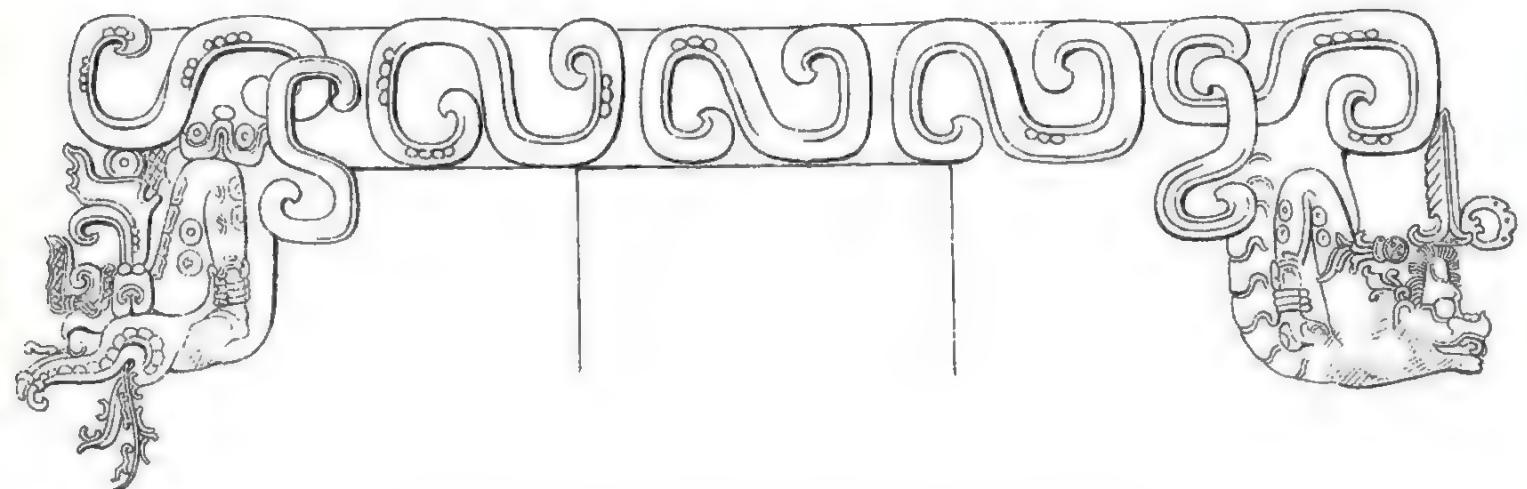


Fig. 63. Copán, Structure 22, inner chamber doorway (after Maudslay, I, pl. 93)

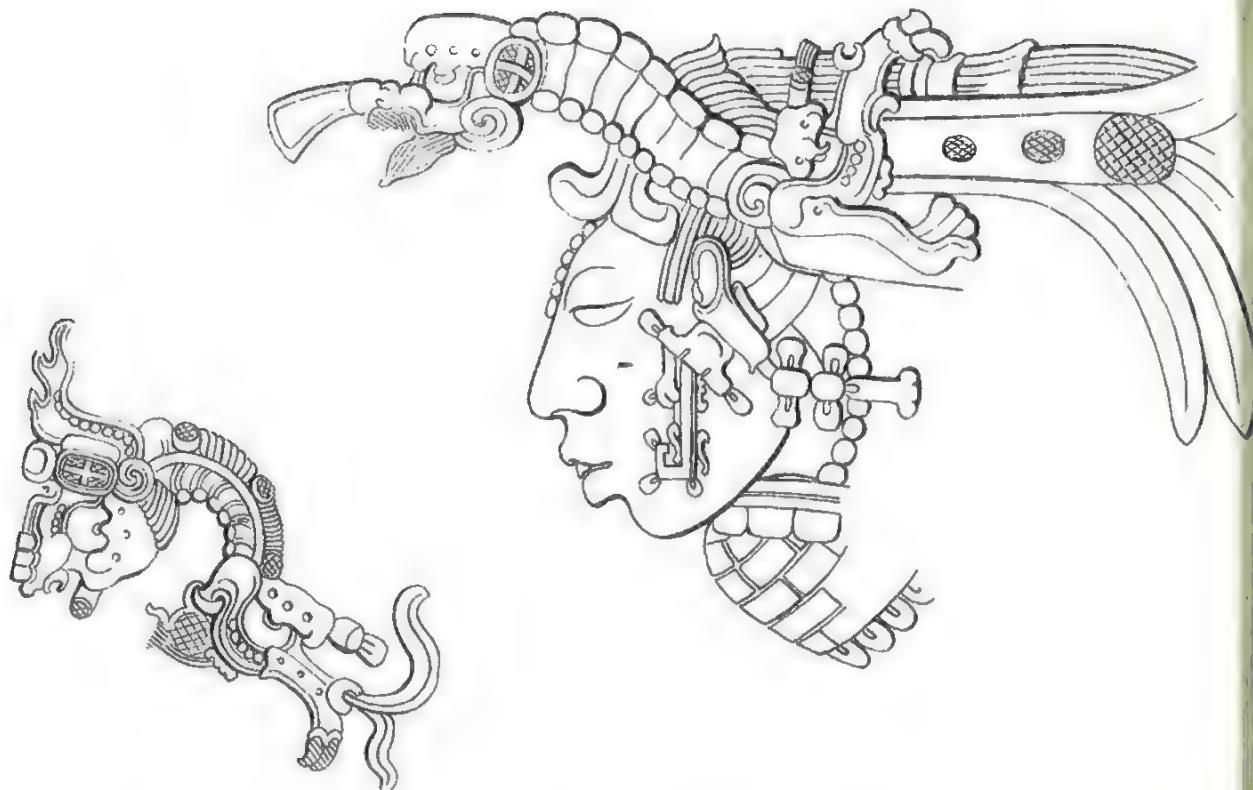


Fig. 64. Yaxchilán, lintel 25, detail (after Maudslay, II, pl. 88)

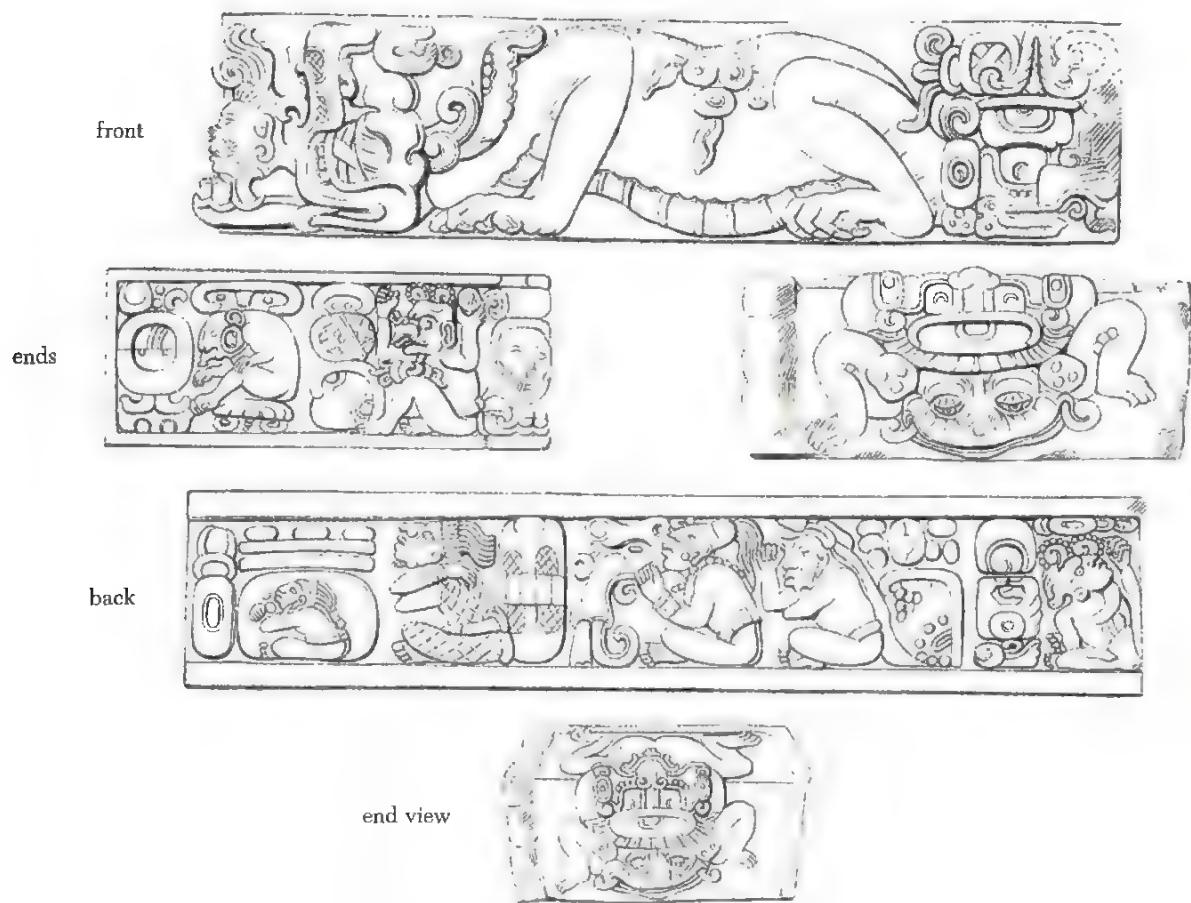


Fig. 65. Copán, relief, Structure 11 (after Maudslay, I, pl. CXIV)



Fig. 66



Fig. 67

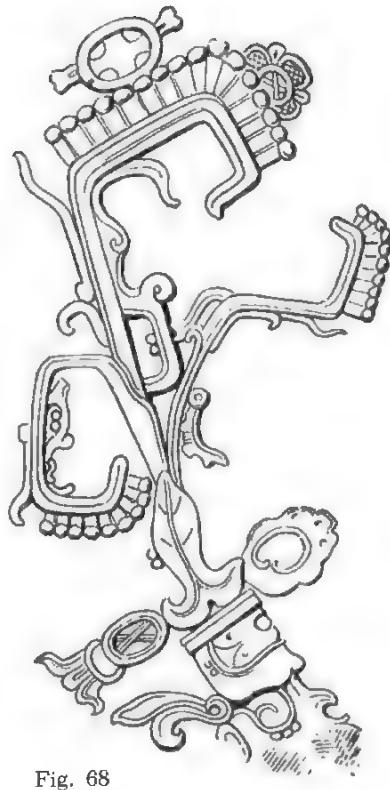


Fig. 68



Fig. 69

Fig. 66. Palenque, Temple of the Cross, leafy scepter held by standing profile figure on west jamb of entrance to sanctuary (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 71)

Fig. 67. Palenque, Temple of the Cross, tablet of sanctuary, leafy scepter held by lefthand figure (after Maudslay, IV, pls. 75-76)

Fig. 68. Palenque, palace, house D, stucco relief on pier c, showing tasseled scepter held by standing figure (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 35)

Fig. 69. Seibal, stela 10, leafy scepter (inverted), attached to belt of ruler-figure (after Spinden, 1913, 56)

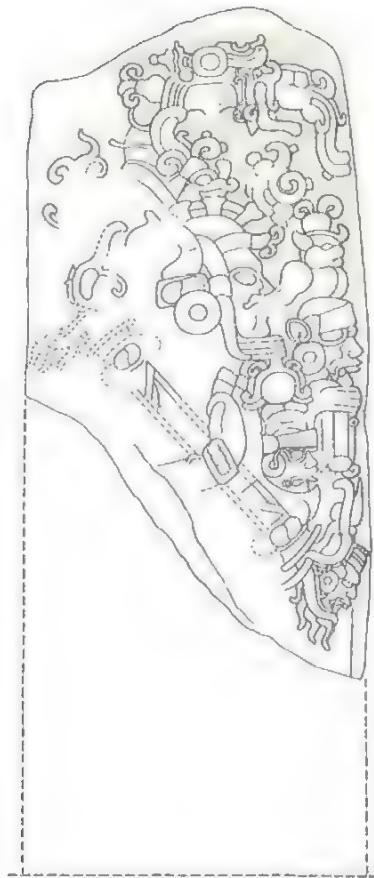


Fig. 70. Tikal, stela 29 (after Shook, 1960, 32)

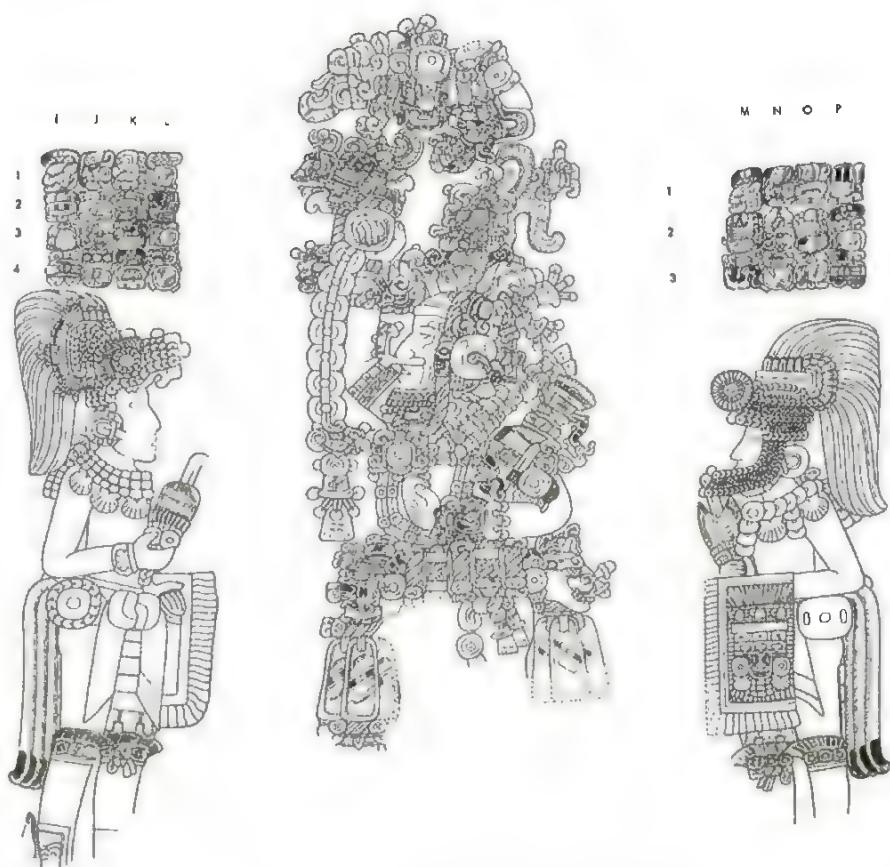


Fig. 71. Tikal, stela 31 (after Coe, 1965, 33)

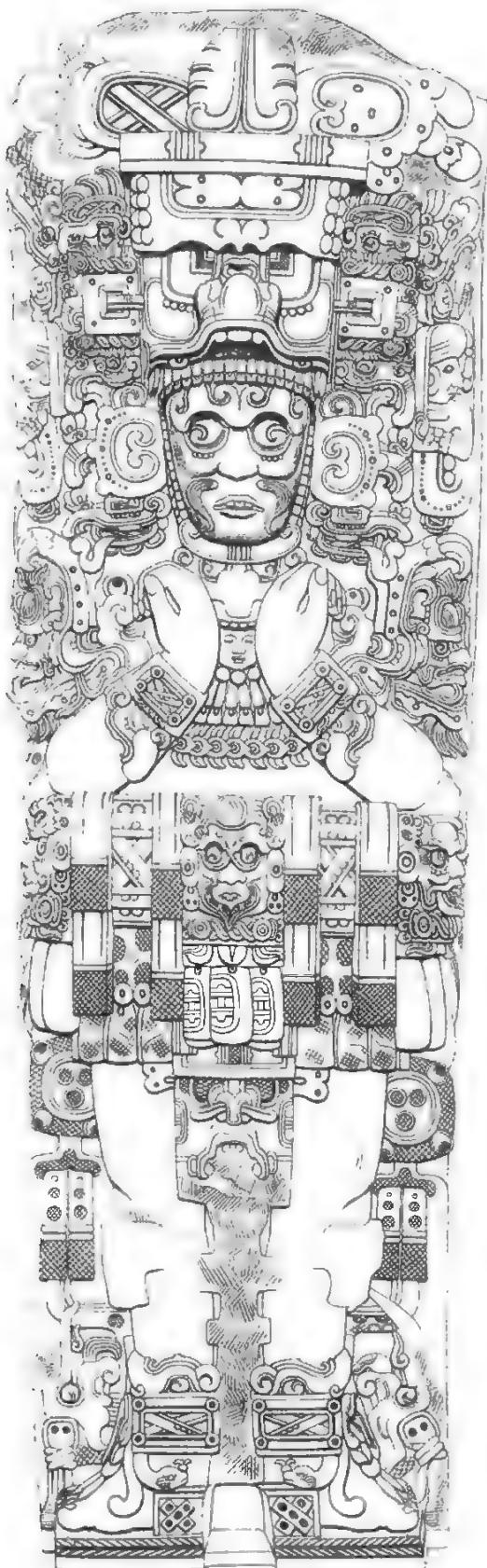


Fig. 72. Copán, stela I, front view (after Maudslay, I, pl. 63)

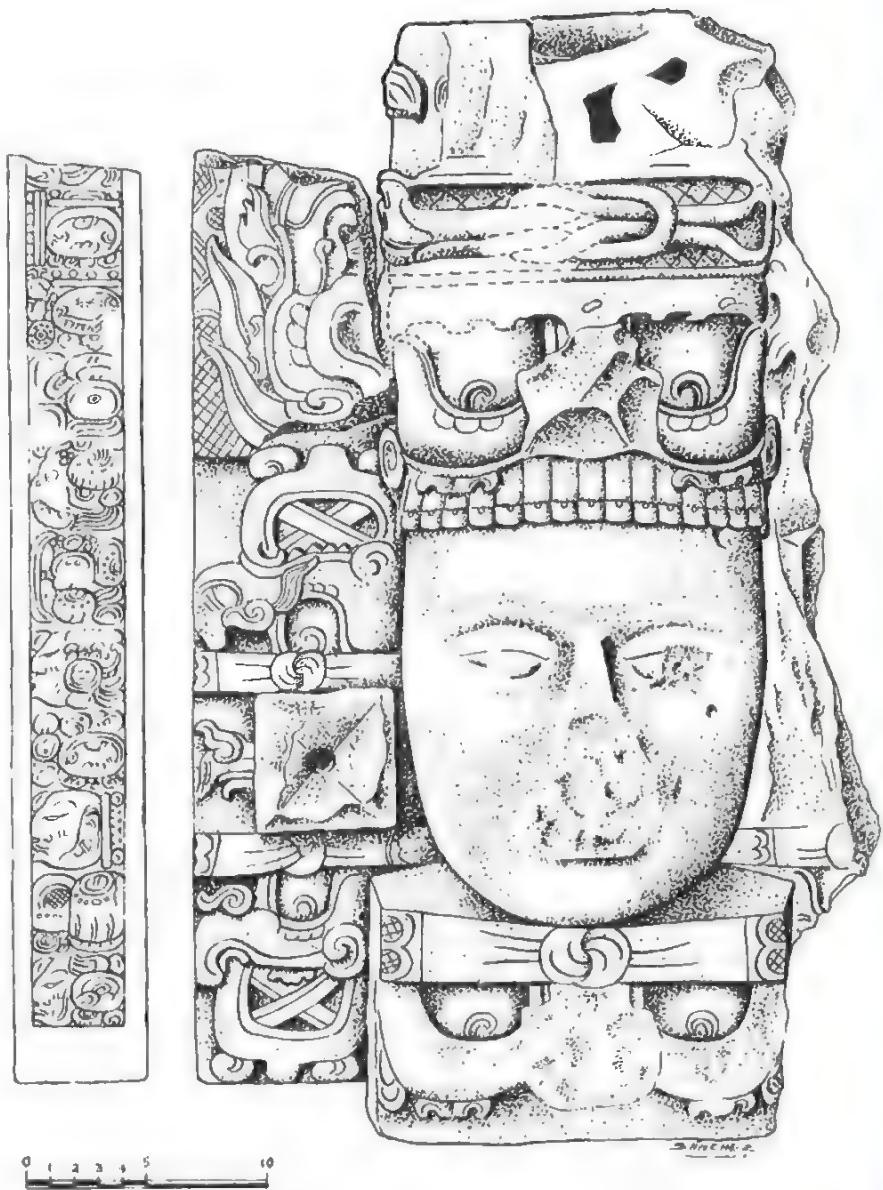


Fig. 73. Palenque, stone relief from Temple of Foliated Cross (after Ruz, 1958, 91)

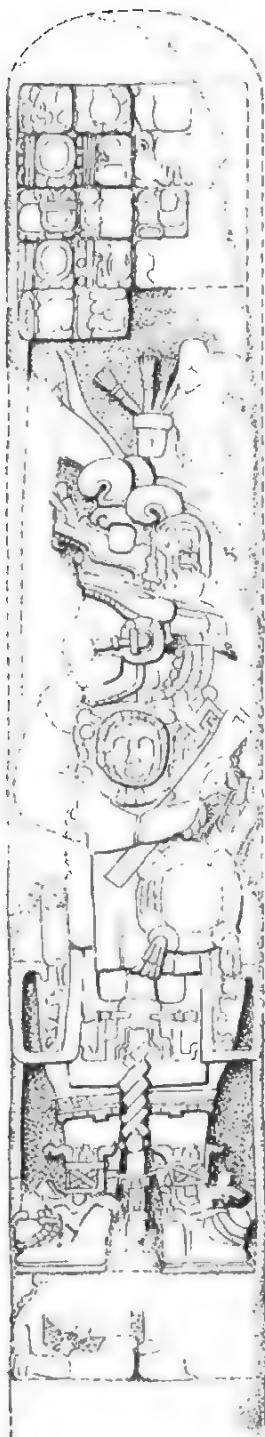


Fig. 74. Calakmul, stela 28 (after Ruppert and Denison, 1943, pl. 49)

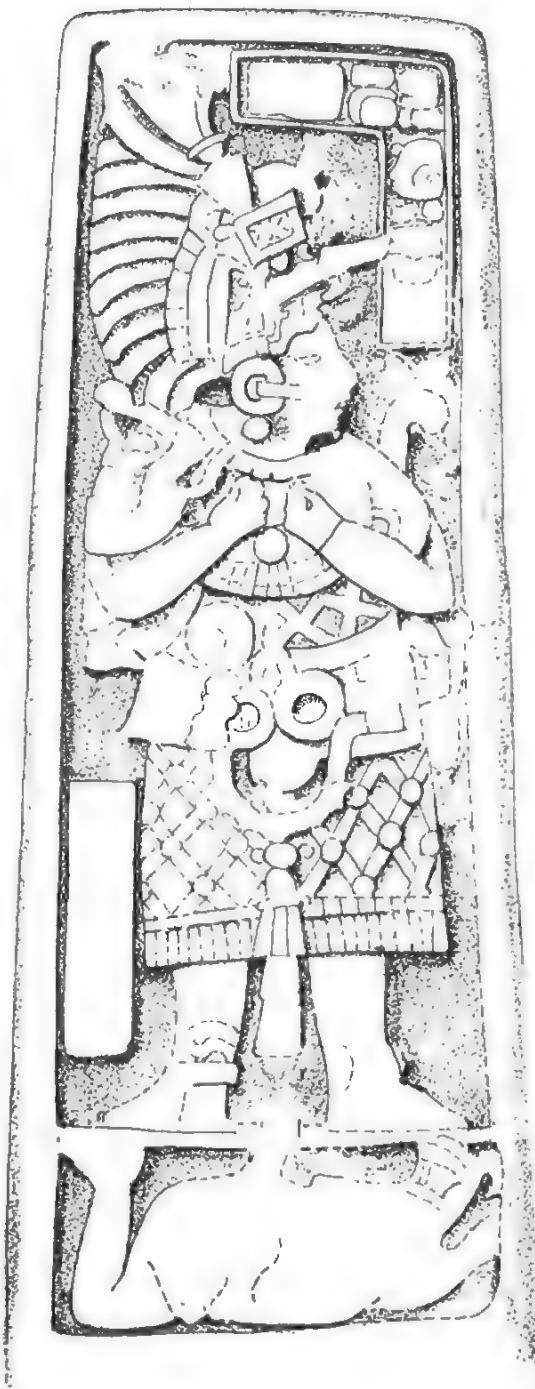


Fig. 75. Calakmul, stela 9 (after Ruppert and Denison, 1943, pl. 48)



Fig. 76. Tikal, Temple II, lintel 2 (after Spinden, 1957, pl. 50)

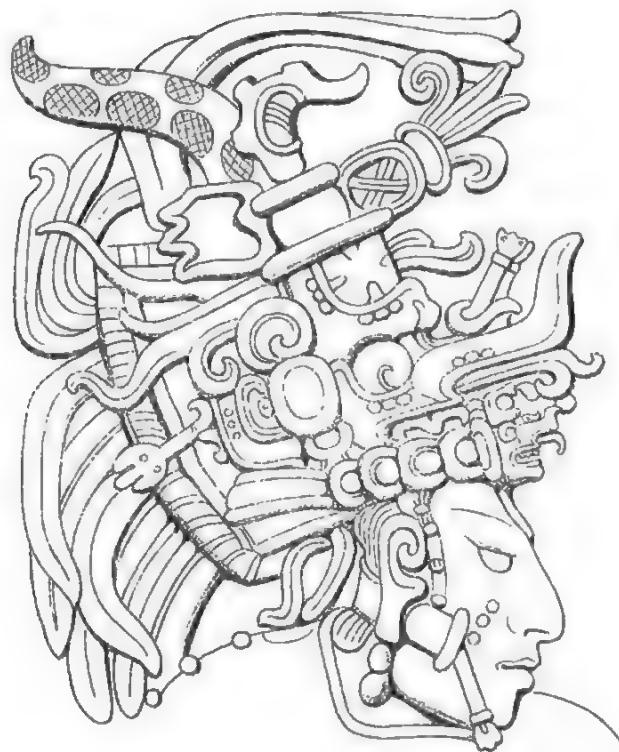


Fig. 77. Yaxchilán, lintel 14 (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 93)



Fig. 78 Palenque, palace, house A, stucco relief on pier c (after Maudslay, IV, pl. 10)



Fig. 79. Yaxchilán, lintel 2 (after Maler, 1903, pl. XLVI)

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Fig. 81. Aguateca, stela 7 (after Graham, 1967, fig. 17)



Fig. 80. Yaxchilán, lintel 3 (after Maler, 1903, pl. XLVIII)

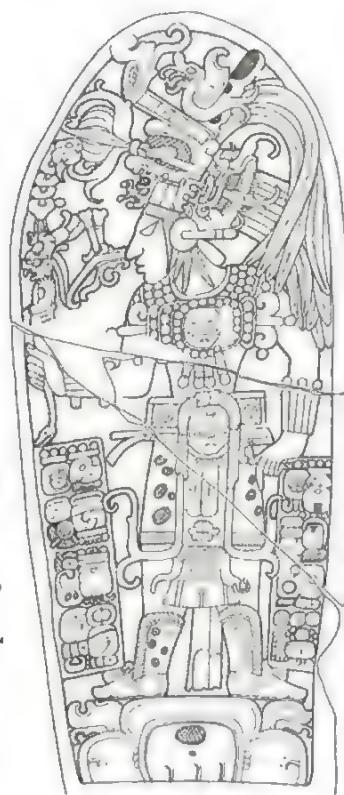


Fig. 82. Machaquila, stela 4
(after Graham, 1967, fig. 51)

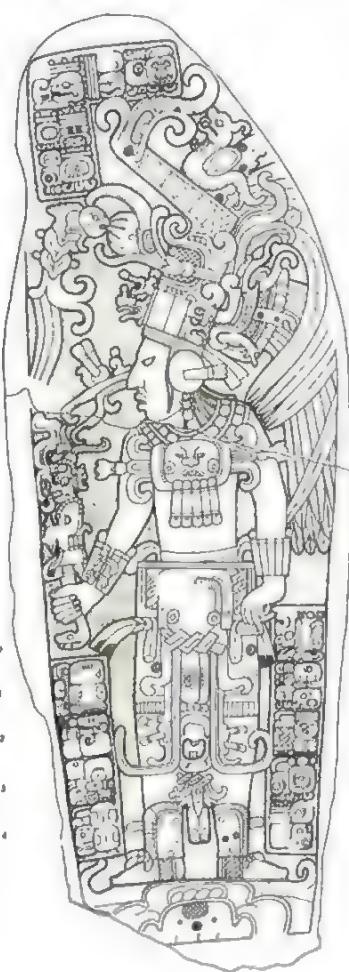


Fig. 83. Machaquila, stela 7 (after Graham, 1967, fig. 57)

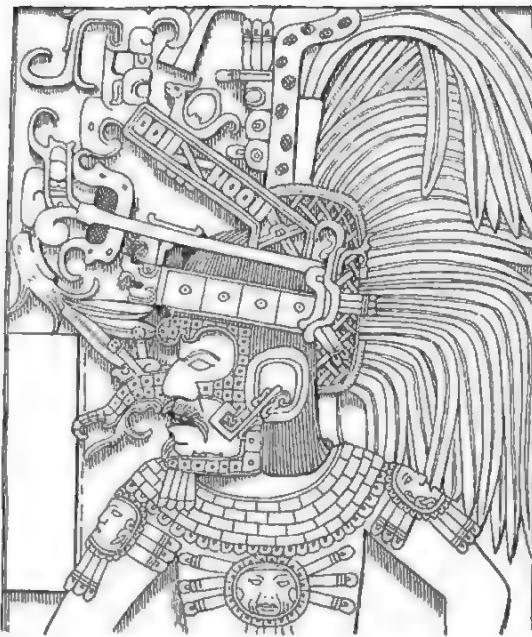


Fig. 84. Seibal, stela 11 (after Spinden, 1913, 301)



Fig. 85. Balancán-Morales, stela 4
(after Lizardi Ramos, 1961)



Fig. 86. Dumbarton Oaks, Bliss Collection, probably from Palenque, relief panel 2 (after M. Coe and E. Benson, 1966, fig. 6)



Fig. 87. Usumacinta style, ball-court marker fragment (after J. L. Franco, 1966, pl. 14)

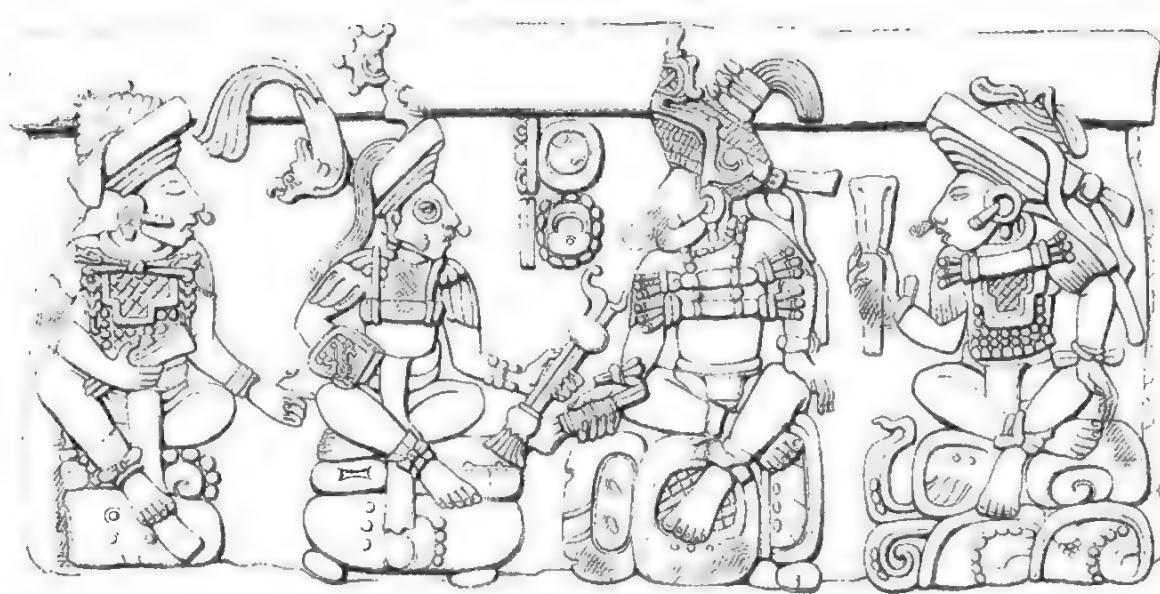


Fig. 88. Copán, altar Q (after Maudslay, I, 92)

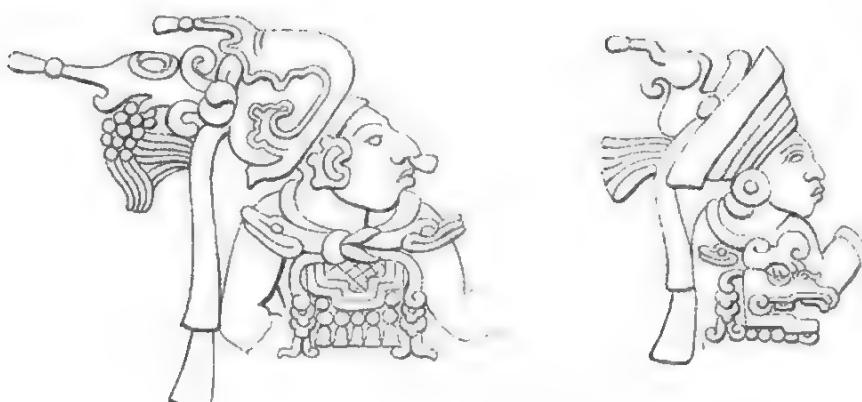


Fig. 89. Copán, step, temple 11 (after Maudslay I, 8)



Fig. 90. Yaxchilán, stela 11 (after Spinden, 1957, pl. LXI)

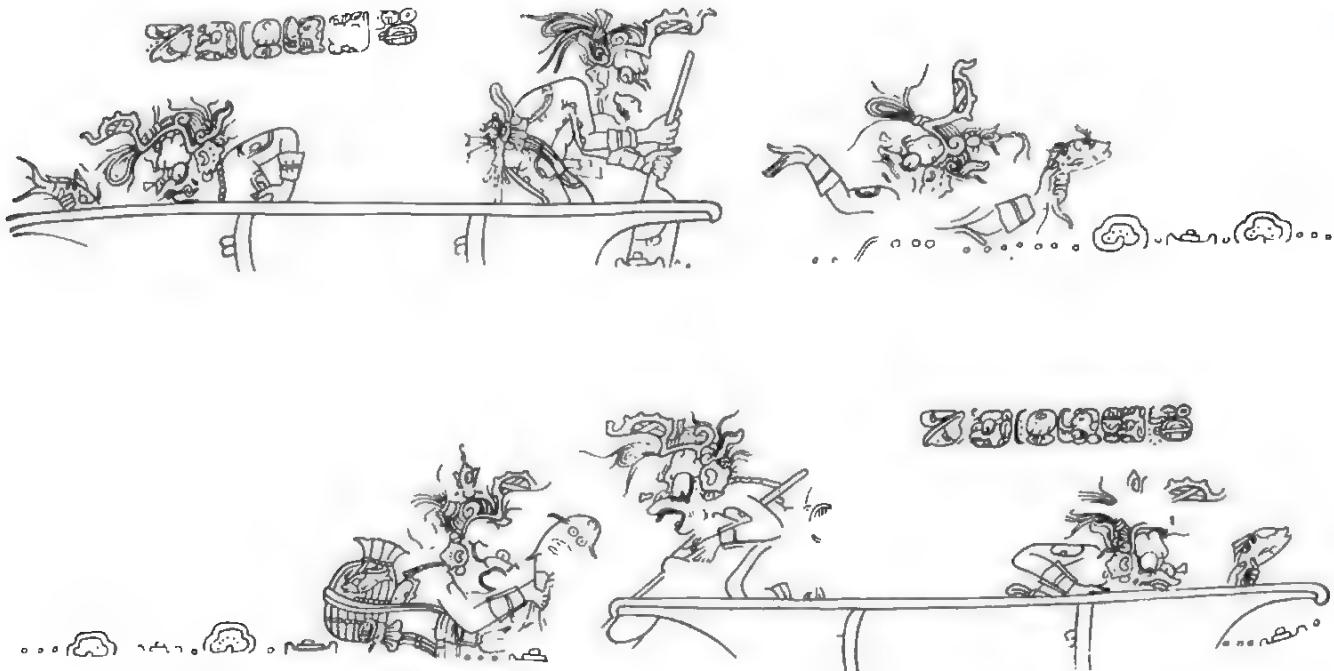


Fig. 91. Tikal, engraved bone (MT-51 A, B), from Burial 116, Temple I (after Trik, 1963, 13)

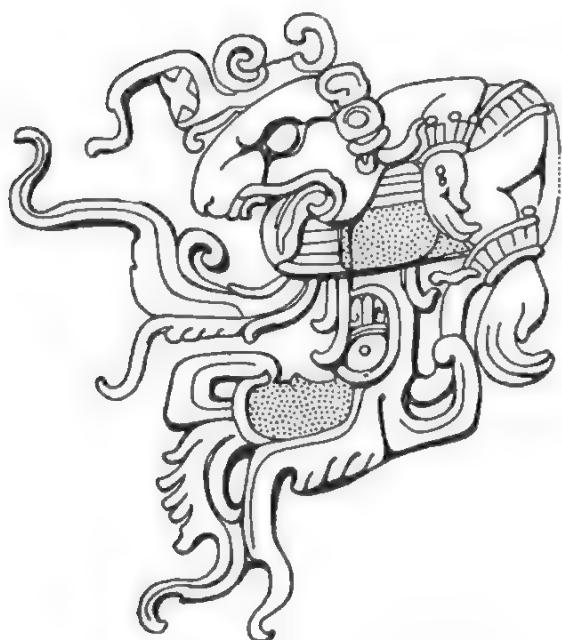


Fig. 92. Quirigua, zoomorph P, relief carving of rodent or feline emptying a vessel (after Rands, 1955, 313)



Fig. 93. Palenque, palace, tower court, stone relief (after Fuente, 1965, lam. 54)

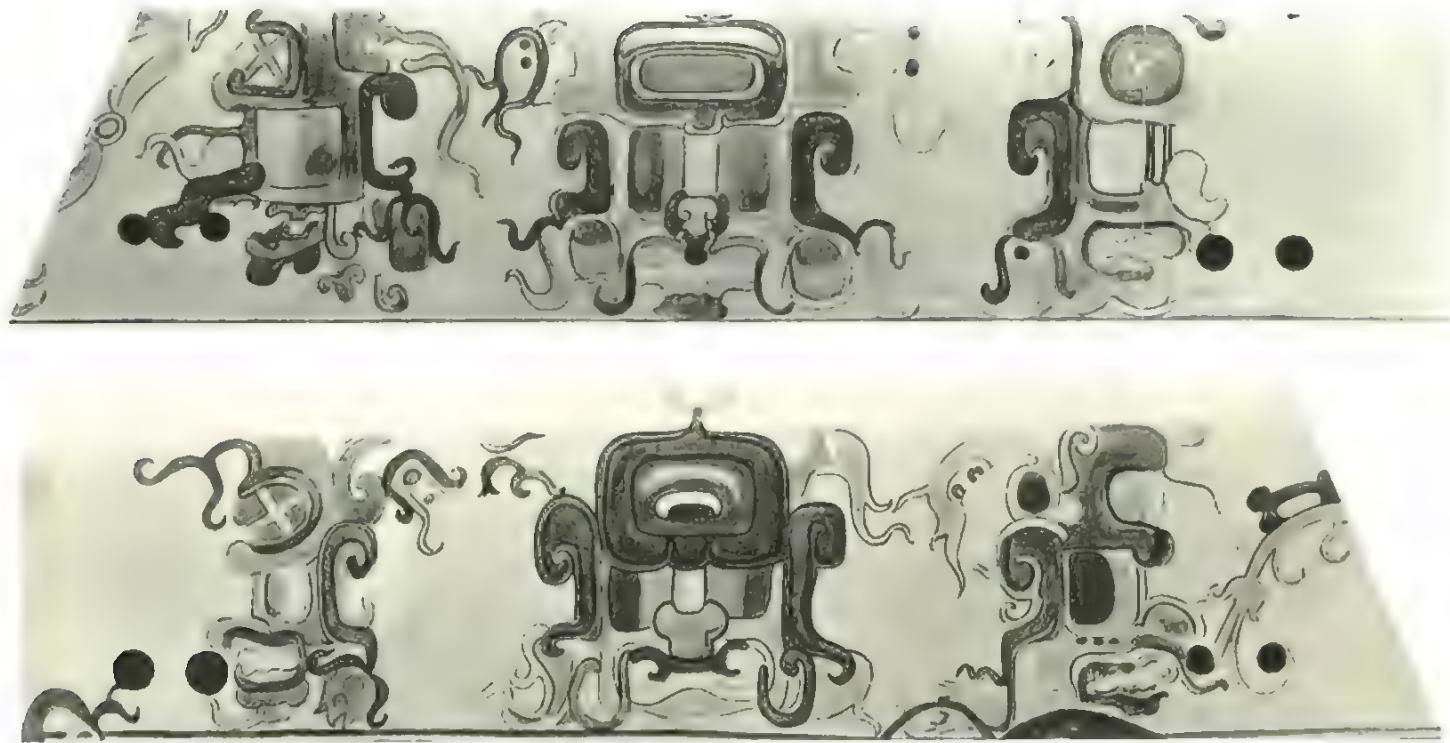


Fig. 95. Bonampak, Structure 1, room 1, top register of mural in vault peak (after Ruppert, Thompson, Proskouriakoff, 1955)

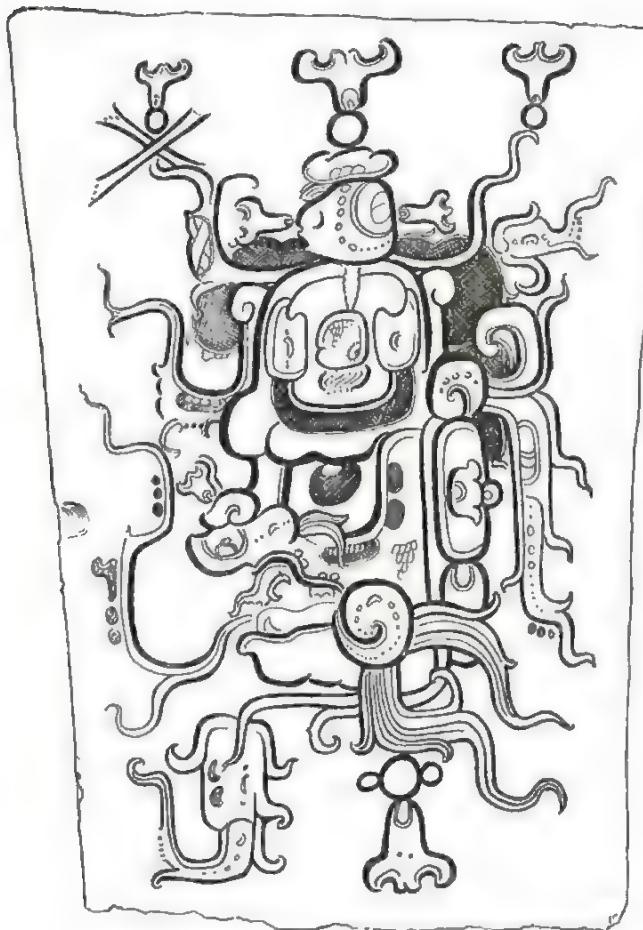


Fig. 94. Palenque, palace, southwest court, intaglio relief (after Ruz, 1952a, 58)



Fig. 96. Cahabón, Tepeu 2, polychrome pottery tripod plate (after R. E. Smith, 1952, fig. 19)

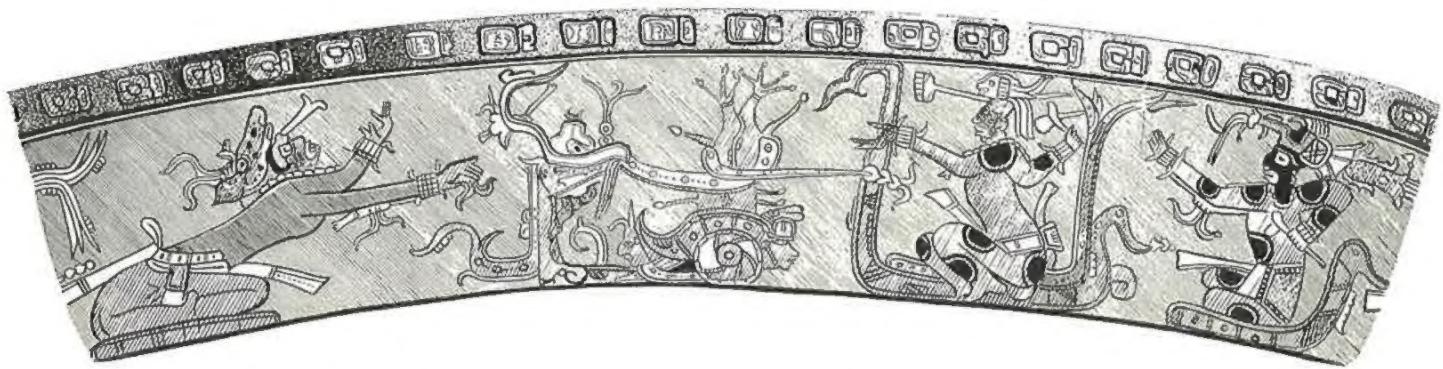


Fig. 97. Motagua valley, painted pottery bowl (after Smith and Kidder, 1943, fig. 43)

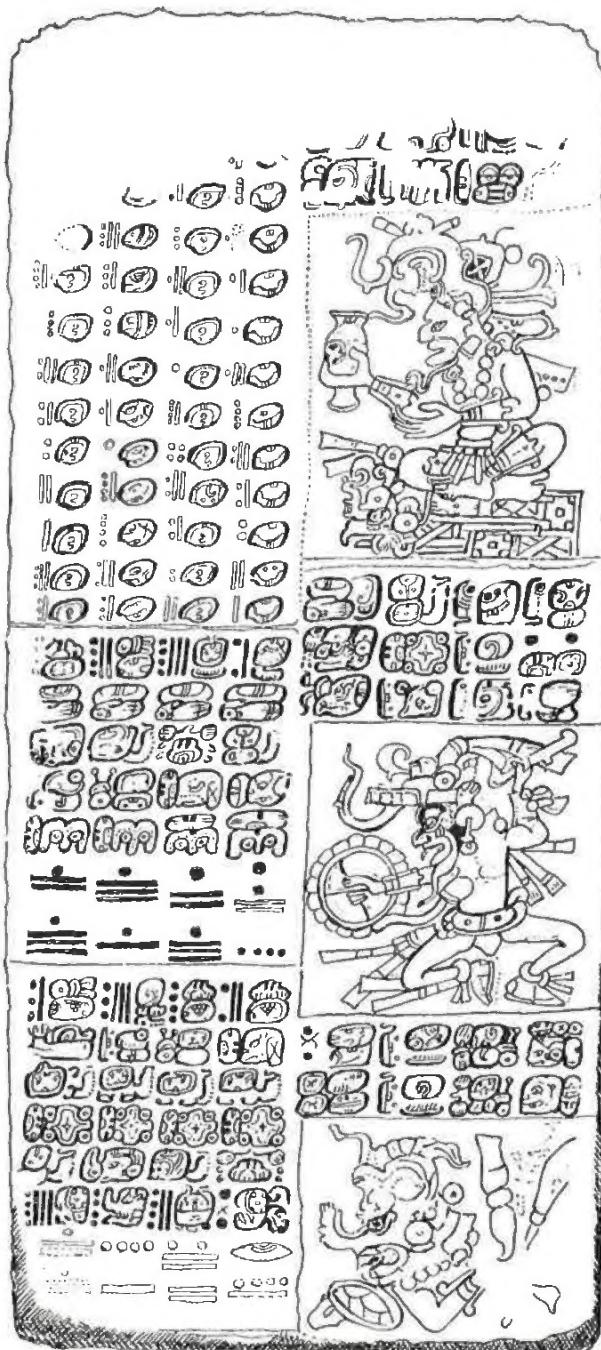


Fig. 98. Dresden 46a, seated, helmeted figure emptying a vessel (after Villacorta and Villacorta, 1930)

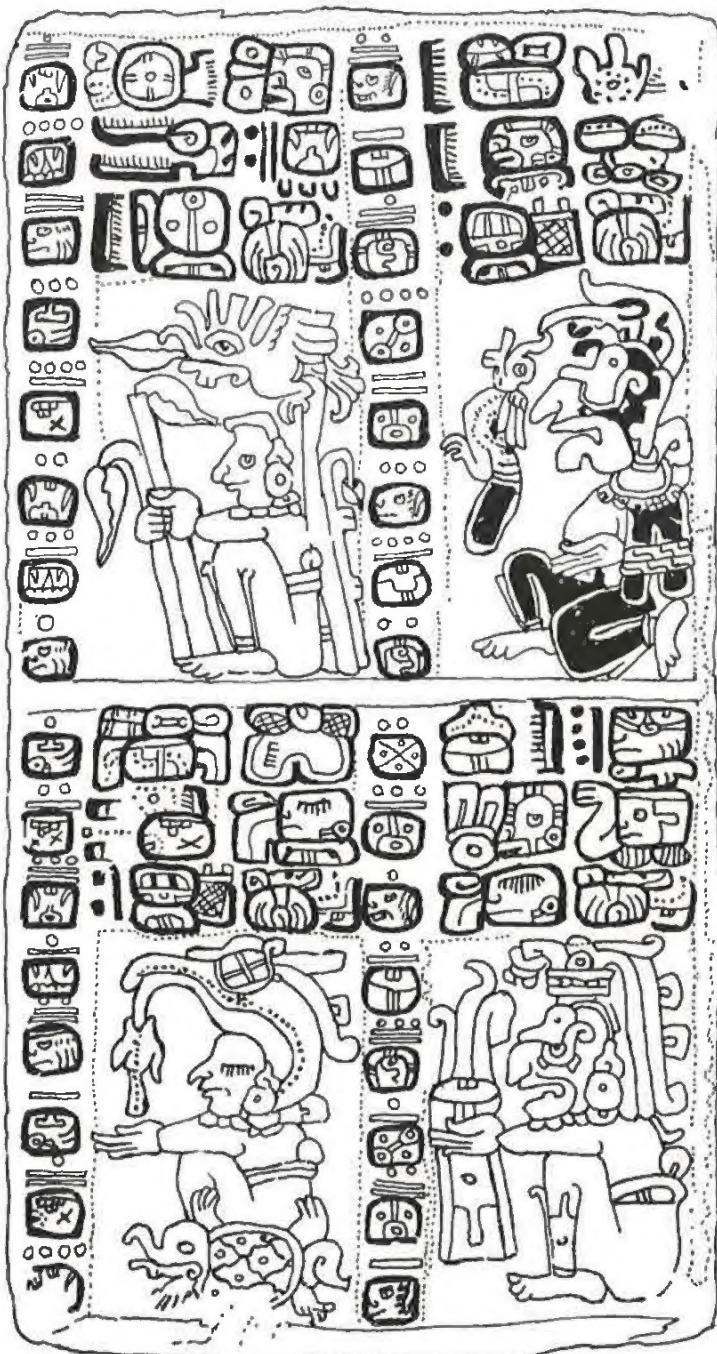


Fig. 99. Madrid 70b, helmeted figure seated upon turtle (after Villacorta and Villacorta, 1930)

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